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their historical development. The traditional history and separate European contacts of each of the several Umbundu kingdoms would occupy far more time and space than the limits of this study permit. I propose, therefore, to give in outline the broader trends of European contacts from the earliest days, filling in such items of traditional history as may be necessary for complete understanding, and to summarize this with a chronological chart in which the dynastic successions of the principal Umbundu kingdoms are included.

There are many books about Angola and several histories of Angola, so-called, but the History of Angola, in the proper sense of the term, remains to be written. None of the books written thus far has taken sufficient cognizance of the economic factors involved, whereas a history of Angola is no history at all if not an economic history. This is particularly true of this territory where two of the greater traders of the continent have met.

The Portuguese are the most tenacious traders of all the Europeans who have gone to Africa. Proof of this is the fact that the Hausa, Indian, Syrian, Armenian, or Greek traders, who almost monopolize the petty trade of most African colonies, in Angola have no footing whatever. From the first, the Portuguese traders began to utilize in their trade the services of natives of the old kingdom of Angola. Early in the nineteenth century the Ovimbundu began to be noticed as traders and soon came to be known[1] as the greatest traders of Bantu Africa, after the Zanzibar Arabs.[2] These latter they met in the Great Lakes region, and they (the Arabs) subsequently began to come down to Benguela or Luanda themselves.[3] In the middle of the nineteenth century the Yankees in their clipper ships played a large part in the trade of the Angola coast. More recently the British have made considerable investments in trade and in industrial developments. After the war of 1914–18 Germans played an important part in the commercial life of the colony. Any history of Angola, then, that makes sense must be an economic history. This is no less true of the history of the Ovimbundu and their European contacts.

[1] Under various names, as, for example, Mambari, Biheans, Bailundos, Kimbundus, Mbundus, &c.

[2] Cf. comparisons drawn by Serpa Pinto, op. cit., p. 163.

[3] The Umbundu name for the Zanzibaris is 'va Lunguana'; compare the medieval (1228) name for Zanzibar, Langujah (C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, 1938, p. 135 f.).

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175× 177 439 *European Influences 1600–1770.* The first European contact of the Ovimbundu or of the 'proto-Ovimbundu' was without doubt for purposes of trade. The first record which we have of any such contact is in *Andrew Battell in Guinea.* About 1600 the governor, as the chief trader,[1] sent his prisoner Battell on trading expeditions along the Benguela coast. At the Bahia das Vaccas, the Ndombe, a cattle-keeping people, were met. They supplied the Europeans with produce,[2] including cattle and 'the famous sheep which have five quarters',[3] but *not* with the principal article of commerce, for as another of the conquistadores noted, 'In this kingdom there is [567] no slave trade, for it is not their custom to sell each other.'[4] This lack was soon supplied by 'proto-Ovimbundu' when, on the next voyage, Battell with the 'Portugals and Mulattos' found the encampment of 'Jagas' at the mouth of the Keve River, from Battell's account of which we have already quoted.[5] Although hardly recognized as such at the time, this, it seems, was the beginning of a long commercial partnership. As long as the 'Jagas' continued 'to take the spoil of the land', they supplied many slaves[6] for the trade, and after they settled they became traders both in direct European employ and on their own account.

439 567 797 175× The early European settlements in Africa were made with the hope of finding gold, but although that metal was not found in the Congo or Angola, black gold—human gold—soon proved to be equally profitable. There was a religious motive in the Portuguese discoveries, for from the time of Prince Henry the Navigator, his captains were bidden to 'plant the Cross on some new headland'. With every ship priests went out to convert the heathen. Some priests doubtless did good work but more of them, both individually and as members of the various orders, early came to the conclusion that the best way to convert the heathen was to sell

[1] The governors continued to engage in trade openly, until forbidden by the law of 17 Sept. 1721, and then, says Lopes de Lima, some complied, while others did not (*Ensaios*, part i, p. 84).

[2] A. Battell, p. 16.

[3] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 34. The reference is to the fat-tailed sheep of the Hottentots and their neighbours. This is perhaps the first reference to it on the west coast.

[4] Ibid., 1593–1631, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 15.

[5] *Supra*, p. 182 f.

[6] Battell, pp. 20, 28; L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 17.

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him off where he would have the double benefit of regular work and Christian doctrine. In 1560 the Bishop of São Thomé wrote that 'he doubted that the people of the kingdom of Angola could be made Catholics unless the King would allow Trade'.[1] The slaves were baptized by the bishop by the boatload—rowed along the wharf of Luanda. The Jesuits profited greatly by the slave-trade, employing continuously three of their own ships. The religious motive was thus early swallowed up by the commercial and profit motive. Commerce was almost entirely taken up with the slave-trade. Four-fifths of the value of all exports were slaves.[2]

During the first hundred years of the Colony of Angola a million slaves were exported,[3] and three million would probably be a very conservative estimate of the total. As long as the over-sea slave traffic remained legal, little effort seems to have been made to develop other exports. In spite of protests and until 1832, ivory remained a monopoly of the royal treasury with regulations which discouraged its export. Such products as gum copal and orchilia only began to be exported in 1832–8. The only product of any importance which had also been exported in the time of the slave-trade was bees-wax. The slave-trade was first questioned in 1831, it was formally prohibited in 1836, but for many years enforcement was not accomplished. During the 250 years of the oversea slave-trade, Angola was in reality a dependency of Brazil.[4] When Brazil became independent, there was a movement in Benguela for union with that country.[5] So complete was the commercial domination of Brazil that Lisbon merchants had hardly anything to do with the Angolan trade. Lopes de Lima points out that the colony was also spiritually dominated by Brazil, and attributes the noteworthy religious decadence not only to the preoccupation of the clergy with the slave-trade, but also to the fact that from 1677 until 1845 the diocese of Angola and Congo was a part of the Metropolitan archdiocese of Bahia. The one great fact with regard to Angola of the sixteenth, seventeenth,

[1] It had been a royal monopoly and allowed only through Kongo. This letter is from the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo and quoted by Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, p. ix.

[2] Statistics given by Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 69 f.

[3] Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* (1680–1), vol. iii, p. 254 (also quoted by Paiva Manso).

[4] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 74; J. P. Oliveira Martins, *O Brasil e as Colónias Portuguezas*, p. 18.

[5] Lopes de Lima, op. cit., p. 127.

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eighteenth, and much of the nineteenth century, then, was the slave-trade.

Most of the historical treatises on Angola are little more than chronological lists of battles and expeditions. The relation of these events to the main facts, i.e. to the economic facts, has rarely been made. Two or three presídios were founded with the hope of controlling nearby mineral deposits,[1] whether real or supposed, but all the rest were intended as spearheads for trade or to protect existing trade. Many of the military expeditions were raids with an obvious end in view; others were rearguard actions to protect a more or less successful raid of the same sort; others were retaliations for reprisals or vice versa. Practically all of the soldiers who were free men, from the captain-general down, were also traders, and some who were not free were traders on account of others. There may have been a few expeditions which had less immediate connexion with trade, for there were genuine explorers in those early days, even as more recently.

There would be little interest or profit in cataloguing the military expeditions which had, or seem to have had, contact with the Ovimbundu or with their predecessors in the land during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were only a very few of real significance. During the seventeenth century many raids were made from Massangano across Libolo to the edge of or into the Benguela Highland, and likewise there were many actions between the garrisons of Benguela and Caconda and the inhabitants of the plateau. In 1607 Balthazar Rebello de Aragão set out to cross Africa and had to turn back after going eighty leagues, but his own report was so scanty that even the direction he took cannot be determined.[2] In 1645, while the Dutch controlled Luanda and the coast, there was a raid which was said to have reached Bailundu.[3] The very scanty references to this raid give no description of the inhabitants, but since there seems to be no Bailundu tradition with regard to it, I conclude that the present dynasty (beyond the establishment of which tradition hardly goes) must have been founded since that date. About 1650 there was a raid across Libolo as far as the Keve River which found a cattle-rearing

[1] e.g. Benguela Velha and Cambambe.

[2] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1593–1620, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 15.

[3] *Catálogo dos Governadores*, p. 374; Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part i, p. 99.

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from the point of view of climate, situation, and resources, over the rest of the West African lands with which the Portuguese had relations. He stated in his report[1] that until that time most of the Europeans who entered the Highland were escaped convicts or deserters. He attempted to provide for a more orderly commercial development in these regions not only by building the forts of Caconda-Nova and Novo Redondo,[2] but also by bringing the traders of the interior together at determined places where they could have judges appointed from among themselves, and even parish priests.[3] If the office of 'captain-major and exterior judge'[4] did not originate at this time, at least it was Souza Coutinho who revived it in his appointments and made it a useful instrument for the commercial penetration of the Benguela Highland and of the regions beyond.

Among the regions for which he created such an office was 'Gallangue grande'[5] (Ngalangi). This captaincy-major and the parish of 'S. João Nepomuceno de Gallangue' are mentioned subsequently but only to note the vacancy of both posts. Souza Coutinho was remembered for his many accomplishments, and for his realistic attitudes. He recognized that the law of 1620 prohibiting the entry of traders into the hinterlands[6] was largely a dead letter, and that in so far as it was observed, it only favoured the

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[1] Dated 18 Oct. 1769, loc. cit.

[2] The chief reason for building the latter was to put an end to the contraband trade of the English (see reports of the same governor of 12 Jan. and of 16 May 1769 in op. cit., vol. i, nos. 5 and 6 (Mar. 1936).

[3] Order of 23 Sept. 1768, and report of 12 Jan. 1769 in ibid.; report of 18 Oct. 1769; also *Catálogo dos Governadores*, p. 416 f. (*Arquivos de Angola*, vol. iii, p. 528).

[4] The *capitão mor e juiz de fora* was appointed to represent the government in a region not subject to it nor within the range of military occupation. His chief duty was to keep the peace among the Portuguese subjects of his jurisdiction and to attend to legal and orderly inheritance of their goods when they died. He also was supposed to secure for them as much extra-territorial treatment as the native kings and courts would concede. Compare explanation by Francisco de Salles Ferreira in *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1846, p. 118. Long lists of these appointments for the various regions of the interior, together with many contemporary documents, are given by Ralph Delgado, *Ao Sul do Cuanza*.

[5] He gave it the name 'Linhares' after a Portuguese town, but neither this name nor that of 'Contins' for Caconda was kept.

[6] The purpose of this law was not, as Livingstone supposed (*Missionary Travels and Researches*, p. 369), directly humanitarian, but more especially to preserve the trade for residents of the towns and to avoid the necessity for punitive expeditions which the traders' presence in the hinterland had so often motivated.

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foreign buccaneers and other contraband trade in the unoccupied ports of the Congo, Loango, &c. He therefore removed the prohibition[1] and counted on the appointment of captains-major to keep the peace. From this time the hinterlands were legally open to traders—to all Portuguese subjects whether white, black, or brown.

Though the hinterlands were now legally open to all traders, life was not thereby made any easier for them than it had been previously for the 'barefoot traders'[2] who had carried on most of the trade hitherto. Once they went beyond the range of the guns of a presídio, they entered what were practically foreign countries which recognized no European principles of law or of conduct. Those who could afford it built themselves small fortresses and manned them with their slaves. Even so, they had to become vassals and feudatories of some native king and pay tribute according to his good pleasure. Those traders who could not afford such an establishment led a very precarious existence, nor could they long maintain a status above that of the natives of the region. Many of these early traders and their descendants were subsequently incorporated into the Umbundu stock, and in some instances whole communities of them.[3] For one reason or another this increased commercial contact led to further wars with the natives. The war of this period which made the greatest impression upon the Ovimbundu was the campaign of 1774–6, to which allusion has already been made.[4] Memories of this war and of the capture of their respective kings have been preserved in the traditions of Bailundu and of Ndulu,[5] and it also seems that these two peoples learned, for a time at least, that it was safer and more profitable to trade with the Europeans than to raid their establishments. Ciyaka and the neighbouring groups do not seem to have followed suit, for they continued to raid the forts of Caconda, Quilengues, and Huila until fairly recent times; nor do Europeans seem to have penetrated Ciyaka for residence until almost the turn of the present century. But in all the Umbundu kingdoms life

[1] Report of 9 May 1765 in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, nos. 5 and 6.

[2] i.e. native African trading agents.

[3] I have genealogical tables and family histories of some of the present-day descendants. The mixed origin of communities in Kakonda has been noted by several writers. A noteworthy example in Viye is the region called Kamundongo—an old Ndongo (Angola) settlement.

[4] *Supra*, pp. 166, 171, 174.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 170, 171.

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continued to be difficult for the traders, subject as they were to the conditions of primitive custom and belief.[1]

About the time of the above-mentioned military campaign, events took a turn which in the end greatly advanced commercial life in Viye. I refer to the restoration of Kangombe to his 'stool' with the help of the governor, Dom Antonio de Lancastre.[2] This alliance with the Portuguese government was maintained by Kangombe's successors until 1890. In 1782, and perhaps even in 1770, there were so many Portuguese residents that a 'Captain-major and exterior judge of Bihe' was appointed,[3] a post which seems to have been maintained until Silva Porto's suicide in 1890.

Reference has already been made to an account by Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda, who evidently lived in Ngalangi and in Wambu about 1790,[4] but although this man wrote a good deal about native life, he had little to say about trade, although it was perhaps his own livelihood. I have accounts of two trading expeditions from Benguela to the country of 'Lovar' or 'Lovale' at the head-waters of the Zambezi in 1794 and 1795, undertaken by Alexandre de Silva Teixeira and Jozé da Silva Costa at the instigation of a slave originally from that region.[5] They passed through Bailundu and Viye, but mentioned these regions only to say that the road was already well known to all backwoodsmen (traders). All available evidence seems to indicate that before the close of the eighteenth century the Ovimbundu were becoming, if they had not already become, traders. If trade had not yet taken first place over raiding and warfare, at least it was well-established in their habits of life. Bailundu tradition says that the first traders to offer cloth and beads and fire-arms for slaves and ivory were the Ndongo, the 'barefoot traders' (*pombeiros descalços*). This was doubtless during the very early days of the eighteenth century, or

[1] Silva Porto's diaries, although referring to a later time, give a good description of difficulties faced (op. cit.). *Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*

[2] Governor and captain-general, 1772–9. He was the immediate successor of D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho.

[3] For this appointment, which may not have been the first, and the duties of the office, see *Annaes Mar. e Col., 6a Ser.*, p. 118. I have the names of subsequent appointees, and for four of them the following dates of appointment, respectively—1791, 1819, 1838, 1885; also of one previous appointee in 1770 or 1771.

[4] *Supra*, p. 188.

[5] *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, no. 4 (Nov. 1935); *Annaes Mar. e Col., 4a Ser.* (1844), p. 159 f.

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even earlier. Long before that the forerunners of the Ovimbundu kings, the 'Jagas', had sold their prisoners to the *pombeiros*. The other side of the national lineage had probably bought salt from Cisama[1] even before the white men came to the land.

Dominant Tendencies 1840–74. The next period in which there was great commercial development among the Ovimbundu began with the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, following upon the abolition of the monopoly in ivory and the development of new products as substitutes for the slave-trade, formally prohibited in 1836. This period saw a considerable increase in the number of traders resident in the region. The new régime at the coast may have caused some to go inland.[2] In Bailundu, and especially in Viye, they were well received by kings and by people who saw in the coming of more Europeans to live among them increased commercial opportunities.[3] For various reasons most of these traders established themselves in Viye,[4] and from this time Viye took first place in trade with the interior and with the coast. But since the caravan road to Benguela must pass either through

[1] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part ii, p. 55.

[2] Some statistics on these older periods are available, but since they are themselves in disagreement and none of them seem to be very reliable I do not include them here. The Report of the Governor of Benguela for 1799 gives the rather optimistic figure of 78 *whites* (including 5 women) resident in the several interior districts (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 161), with correspondingly larger numbers for persons of mixed race and (civilized) blacks. In 1838, according to Lopes de Lima (*Ensaios*, part i, p. 4 f.), the number of *whites* in the same districts was only 14, with no women, and the number of 'brown inhabitants' correspondingly small except in Caconda, for which he gives the number of 2,992—more than in all the rest of the colony! J. R. Graça gave a list of 101 names of inhabitants of Viye alone, 'Portuguese or descendants of Portuguese *including 6 Europeans*'. This was probably near the truth for 1846. Magyar (1849–57) gave very interesting calculations of the population and area of the several Umbundu kingdoms, but no figures on European residents.

[3] A very interesting glimpse of Bailundu in 1837 was given by a political exile, Carlos de Almeida Sandoval (*Annaes do Cons. Ultr., Ia Ser.*, p. 519 f.). Very full accounts of life in Viye have been given by Silva Porto, who first reached Viye in 1840, coming from Luanda (see some of his diaries in *Annaes do Cons. Ultr.*, Ser. I; *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, Ser. 5, 6. A small volume of excerpts from Silva Porto's diaries was published in 1942 by the Agência Geral das Colónias under the title *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África.*)

[4] The early continuous connexion of the dynasty with the Luanda government has been mentioned, as also the continuous appointment of a *capitão mor*. The incumbent at the time (appointed 1838) was Francisco José Coimbra, of mixed race from Caconda (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1846, p. 118; *Annaes do Cons. Ultr., Ia Ser.*, p. 112 f.). Both Cameron and the early missionaries mention dealings with his sons. Some of his grandsons and great-grandsons, now reincorporated with the Ovimbundu, still tell of their descent.

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Bailundu (and its dependent states), or through Wambu and Ciyaka, while the road to Luanda lay either through Ndulu or Bailundu, these other kingdoms were not slow in following along the path of commercial success. In Ngalangi the king himself took a very active interest in trade and annually sent a royal caravan to Benguela, taking care to get a pass from the captain of the fort at Caconda. Other kings also adopted the practice of the royal caravan,[1] but the kings of the principal kingdoms were slow to give up raiding, plunder, and warfare as a manner of life[2]—a custom which became distasteful to their subjects in proportion as trade became more profitable and attractive.

In addition to those already named, there were other historical events and policies which contributed toward the development of trade during this period. The abolition in 1834 of the monopoly in ivory,[3] which the royal treasury had held since the beginning, was of great importance, and this, in turn, abetted in perpetuating the slave-trade, now a contraband, for ivory always had been brought from the interior on the backs of slaves, and it must not be supposed that this would suddenly be stopped, especially since ivory had just become much more valuable. According to Bastos,[4] slaves for this contraband trade continued to be cheap and plentiful until the eighties, which was probably due in part to the large supply offered. Another reason was perhaps that the contraband oversea trade was largely in the hands of foreigners—Brazilians, Spaniards, and Americans, who were not always reliable in the matter of paying for their cargoes.[5]

[1] *Omaka*, which had special routines and prerogatives. Other types of caravans were named from the products which they carried or conducted.

[2] See Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part ii, p. 54: 'Bailundo . . . a warlike people, of the race of "Jagas", whose chief is always on a campaign'; Magyar, *Reisen*, many references, but especially pp. 290 ff., 383–420; Silva Porto, op. cit., p. 82 f., 160; *Missionary Herald*, 1883, p. 339; 1884, pp. 145 f., 504 f.; 1885, pp. 279, 375 f.; 1886, p. 228 f.; 1887, p. 106; 1889, pp. 67, 535; 1890, p. 292, &c.

[3] From 1618 (B. Rebello de Aragão, p. 14) until 1834 (Saldanha da Gama, p. 86), all critics agreed that this monopoly even defeated its own purpose, i.e. revenue; for, they said, the conditions and regulations were so onerous that the natives could not afford to bring ivory to the coast. Available statistics show that there was very little export of ivory until 1835 (Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*).

[4] A. Bastos, *Monographia de Catumbella*, pp. 18, 25. He gives prices varying from 5$000 to 18$000 or even 20$000, and remarks that slaves were later designated as servants, redeemed ones, contracted labourers, &c. The milreis (1$000) was then worth about $1.10. Monteiro (*vide infra*) says that in the sixties 'a little nigger' could be had for 5s.

[5] J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, pp. 181–4. Monteiro attributes

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The town of Catumbela (founded 1836) played an important part in the trade of the Ovimbundu. The first trade of Bailundu, Ndulu, and Viye had been with Luanda and with the presídios on the north bank of the Kuanza, while the rest of the tribe had traded with Caconda and with Benguela. Some trade went to Egito from Bailundu, Kasongi, &c. Catumbela was first built on the left bank of the river of that name, about four miles from its mouth, at the point where caravans from Viye, Bailundu, and from nearer regions to the north of the river crossed to go to Benguela. Immediately some began to stay in Catumbela rather than go on to Benguela, some fifteen miles farther. The nearness of Catumbela to Lobito Bay, a favourite hide-out for slavers and other contrabandists, was another advantage.[1] In 1856 the commercial houses of Catumbela completed a move to the right bank of the river, and after that the caravans from the interior had no further need for going on to Benguela. Just previously, in 1852, Silva Porto had 'broken a new trail' from Viye to Catumbela by way of Bailundu, Civula, and Cisanji, thus avoiding entirely the regions of Ciyaka and Ganda where the caravans were 'continually assaulted, robbed, and at times cut to pieces by the highwaymen of those regions'.[2]

The old road in its descent from the plateau followed more nearly (although not entirely) a natural watershed, but even though the new one had to cross some large and turbulent streams, it was much superior because of the greater safety which it offered. Silva Porto's road was 'new' in that part where it took its final rise to the Highland and in most of the section that crossed the Umbundu country, but not in the section crossing the Cisanji country, nor in the final descent to the coast. In these latter sections it followed the same old slave caravan road, long rutted by the passage of endless loads of human misery.[3] The descent of

unreliability to the receivers in Cuba, &c., and not to the ships' masters. There are interesting incidents of American and other contrabandists in the *Boletim Official da Provincia de Angola*, for the years 1850–69.

[1] A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 85. In this bay ships could anchor very close in-shore, and there was a great overgrown mangrove-swamp which hid them from view to seaward.

[2] A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 9. For the date of opening of the 'new road', see *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*, p. 6; op. cit., p. 19 f. (Silva Porto's diary). I have autobiographical notes from old men in Ciyaka which give a very realistic picture of the activities of the robber-barons and their followers.

[3] Bastos, who is almost everywhere very careful of his facts and who gives

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this trail along the face of the cliffs behind Catumbela may still be seen to-day.

I have noted how largely Brazil had absorbed the commerce of the colony. This was due in large part, of course, to the slave-trade, but it was also due to the fact that all foreign, i.e. non-Portuguese, ships were prohibited from having any part in the colony's trade, or even from entering its ports. This was an effort to keep all colonial trade for the motherland, and was quite in line with early colonial theory and practice. In this instance it served to enrich Brazil at the expense not only of Angola but also of Portugal itself, and it is rather strange that this ruinous policy should have persisted even after the separation of Brazil. In 1844 the two ports of Luanda and Benguela were opened to ships of all the world. Lopes de Lima remarks[1] that not only did foreign commerce flow in, but Portuguese commerce with the colony also increased greatly. It must not be supposed that Angola at once became a great example of Free Trade, for customs duties remained high. Only the first bars in the fence of monopoly were let down, but for that day it was a great step and it attracted trade.

In 1869 the first experimental export of raw rubber was made: a very small beginning of a very important movement.[2] The imminent importance of this export was not realized by 'the man on the spot'. In 1870 Silva Porto, tired of accusations of witch-craft by his Ovimbundu neighbours and of the increasing demands

a very truthful and realistic picture of conditions, of events, and of trends, errs in supposing that it was only with the opening of this 'new road' by Silva Porto that caravans from the interior began to come to Catumbela. Magyar, who went inland from Benguela in 1849, took the usual road via Catumbela. Even in 1795, when there was no town at Catumbela, but only a few vegetable farms, Teixeira and Mello started for the interior from there (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 159). Their itinerary in detail from Catumbela to Viye is not given, but only distances to Cisanji, to Civula, to Bailundu, and to Viye. Since their route was via Civula and Bailundu, rather than via Ciyaka and Wambu (Huambo), and therefore the route of Silva Porto's 'new' road, I am inclined to believe that the latter was probably a return to a route formerly used. Magyar gives a good description of the route via Ciyaka. The route via Bailundu has been described by scores of writers from Silva Porto through Cameron, the early missionaries (of the A.B.C.F.M.), Nevinson, *et al.*, down to 1910, when the road was abandoned for the Benguela Railway. There are now three motor roads from the Highland to the coast, but none of them follows the old slavers' route except in certain short sections.

[1] *Ensaios*, part i, pp. 78, 135.

[2] Bastos, op. cit., p. 24; *Boletim Official*, 1870 (Exports for 1869); *Benguella, Relatório do Districto de*, 1891, p. 29.

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for tribute and other exactions of King Konya Cilemo, successor to the stool of Viye, decided to leave his place at Belmonte (Viye) for Benguela,[1] where he remained for ten years. A year later Guilherme Gonçalves left to his sons his flourishing settlement near Kamundongo (Viye), and sailed for Lisbon, intending to stay indefinitely.[2] These two men were the leading traders established in the Highland, but little idea had they that the small trickle of rubber exports begun in 1869 would so soon inaugurate a new era in Central African trade. It was only in 1882 that rubber took even second place in the exports (after bees-wax),[3] but already in 1872[4] its importance was becoming evident, and by 1877 individual Ovimbundu of Viye had already turned over considerable fortunes in the trade.[5] Bastos seems to be correct in taking 1874 as the beginning of this new era in the trade of the region.[6] For the Ovimbundu, the preceding decades, indeed the preceding century or even centuries, had been a period of preparation for the trade which was now beginning. For them the rubber trade, from 1874 until its close in 1916, was the classical period of commercial activity.

The time of preparation had necessarily developed in the Ovimbundu the intellectual acumen, venturesomeness, a technique of co-operation both within their own social groupings and with outsiders, a knowledge of people, places, and things of their Central African world, together with the other qualities which enabled them to carry on their far-flung trading activities. These qualities merit a fuller description (q.v. *infra*, p. 206 f.). During this earlier period, since many of their travels were naturally exploratory, the Ovimbundu probably travelled more widely than during the time of the rubber trade. There were hardly any territories within the bounds of the Congo River, the Lakes, and the Kalahari Desert which they had not penetrated.[7] Some Ovimbundu went even farther afield as employees of European traders or on their own account. A ready example is Domingos Cakahanga and his companions who, in the employ of Silva Porto during the years

[1] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*, p. 20.
[2] See Cameron, op. cit., p. 400.
[3] *Benguella*, op. cit., 1887, pp. 24 ff.
[4] *Benguella*, op. cit., 1892, p. 29.
[5] Serpa Pinto, op. cit., p. 161 f.
[6] Bastos, op. cit., p. 24.
[7] Serpa Pinto, op. cit., p. 164; L. Magyar, op. cit., pp. 298, 299. The best proof, however, is the fact of the geographical and tribal names found in the Umbundu lan[illegible]

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1853–4, crossed Africa from Benguela to the mouth of the Rovuma.[1]

Nor was this the only transcontinental journey effected by Ovimbundu traders.[2] Such long-distance expeditions were not always the most profitable, and certainly the relatively shorter journeys of the time of the rubber trade must have been much more lucrative. Indeed, the judgement of Magyar was that the Ovimbundu generally got more enjoyment and excitement than monetary gain from their expeditions.[3]

Mention has been made that the several Umbundu kingdoms fell in line with the trading activities of Bailundu and Viye. By the beginning of the period of great activity this had eventuated in a loose system of alliances or mutual understandings to the effect that the traders and caravans of each would be tolerated in, and allowed passage through, the territory of the other. At times their 'trade-agreements' seem to have embraced all the Umbundu-speaking peoples, but violations were frequent,[4] and complaints of violations seem to have been almost the regular state of affairs as between Viye and the Ciyaka-Cingolo-Citata group. There also developed regional industrial and commercial specializations. In Magyar's time there was a great metal industry at Ekovongo, the capital of Viye, making hoes for trade with the interior,[5] but by 1875 this work seems to have ceased,[6] for although hoes were still

[1] Cakahanga kept a diary which was edited by Silva Porto and published under the title 'Third Voyage' in the *Boletim Official* of Angola, 1856–7, and later in the *Annaes do Cons. Ultr. Ia Ser.* A summary of this diary appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* of London, 1860, pp. 136–49, but the translator and editor mistakenly believed that Silva Porto had himself crossed Africa, and added to the confusion by calling the Ovimbundu 'Arabs from Zanzibar'. Silva Porto himself only went as far as Naliele, and it seems that there were 'Arabs' or Swahili in the party, but how far they accompanied it is not clear. That the diary was kept by Cakahanga is evident, for the 'Arabs' could write no language known to Silva Porto.

[2] See Magyar, op. cit., p. 297.

[3] Ibid., p. 299. This referred only to Magyar's time, 1849–57, but I feel it to be a judgement capable of wider extension. Serpa Pinto says that in 1878 he met many who 'turned over capital of a thousand to twelve hundred pounds sterling and some even more; one indeed . . . arrived during my sojourn . . . from the interior where he had traded on his own account to the extent of . . . about £3,500!' (op. cit., p. 161 f.). However, there were also losses and often, so that Magyar's dictum is worth remembering.

[4] e.g. see account of dispute between Ekuikui (Bailundu) and Njambayamina (Viye) in *Missionary Herald*, 1886, pp. 228 f., 452, 508; 1887, p. 463.

[5] L. Magyar, op. cit., p. 297.

[6] See negative testimony of Cameron, of Serpa Pinto, and of early missionaries.

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influences. The stock to which the common people belong were wearers of skins, which is true of many of them to the present time. The people from whom the ruling houses came have a highly developed weaving industry. The 'Ngangela' neighbours, who have also contributed elements to the racial make-up of the Ovimbundu, make and use bark-cloth. The Ovimbundu evidently gave up the use of skins for clothing more than a hundred years ago.[1] This fact, and the additional one that they never developed weaving or bark-cloth industries, was probably due to their early and widespread use of trade-cloth. Rum came with the slave-trade from Brazil. They were almost inseparable. The ships which fetched the slaves came laden with rum distilled in Brazil. The rum was used in buying the slaves, and much more of it was consumed by Ovimbundu—traders, chiefs, and retainers—than by the interior people. Thus, while the slave-trade had such a disruptive influence in the life of the interior tribes, rum did much to corrupt the Ovimbundu. Native tradition[2] and the accounts of early travellers agree on this point. Rum continued to come from Brazil and from other countries or oversea colonies all through this early period, but import was partly supplanted by distillation at the coast, and this process was soon learned by the Ovimbundu themselves.

The part which the Umbundu trade had in spreading the goods and uses of the outside world is a fascinating subject and one which would repay study. Ethnographical and historical knowledge of Central Africa is not yet so extensive or precise that the dates and places of these movements can be plotted with certainty. Professor C. M. Doke records that Nkumine, who ruled the Lamba sometime before 1840, sold many of his people 'as slaves to the Mbundu traders from the West Coast for calico, guns, and powder'.[3] It is important to remember that throughout this period the Ovimbundu were for all this part of Africa the chief intermediaries in the slave-trade. These activities affected the ultimate

[1] See Magyar, *passim*.

[2] A Ngalangi tradition says that from the time of King Ndumba II (*c.* 1840) rum was so plentiful that it was poured into troughs, whence it was lapped up by all—men, women, and children. A constant difficulty encountered by the early missionaries was the objection of chiefs and their counsellors to the missionaries' refusal to give liberal presents of rum, as did all the traders.

[3] C. M. Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Harrap, 1931), pp. 36, 37.

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physical composition of the Ovimbundu themselves, and also their character and accepted attitudes. Livingstone told of the beginning of their trade with the Makololo in 1850, and how they had visited the Barotse 'in ancient times'.[1] These items fit into the picture of that early period of trading activities which is had from studying Umbundu traditional history in the light of documents such as Silva Porto's diaries, Magyar's account,[2] the historical monograph of Augusto Bastos, the comments of travellers,[3] and of the early missionaries.

Period of the Rubber Trade, 1874–1911. Turning now to the rubber trade, that time may conveniently be divided into three periods: from 1874 until 1886, during which only 'first-class' rubber (from the plants themselves)[4] was exported; from 1886, when the discovery of 'second-class' or 'red rubber' (from a root)[5] caused a great boom which lasted until 1900; and, finally, the period of decline until the rubber export stopped in 1916, though for the Ovimbundu it had already practically stopped several years earlier.

Of the older exports only bees-wax and ivory survived along with rubber. The former of these was somewhat neglected, while the importance of the latter continued in Benguela only until about 1893 when the frontier of the Congo was closed. Bastos remarks that after 1900 not a single tusk appeared.[6] Already in 1880 Silva Porto had to go beyond Lunda to the middle Kasai before he found ivory.[7] At that time most of the ivory trade was in the hands of Viye traders. Between 2 November 1879, when Silva Porto left Catumbela, and 26 November when he reached Belmonte (Viye), there passed him about forty caravans on their way to the coast. Of these, ten carried ivory, practically all of which

[1] D. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 91 f. The business-like methods of the Ovimbundu were commented upon later, see op. cit., p. 271.

[2] The picture which Magyar (*Reisen in Süd-Afrika*) gives of Umbundu life in that early period is very good, but for an understanding of many terms used a knowledge of Portuguese and Umbundu is quite necessary. His truthfulness with regard to the slave-trade must be questioned when confronted by evidence from Valdez, Monteiro, and especially from Bastos.

[3] Valdez, op. cit.; Monteiro, op. cit.; Graça, op. cit.; Serpa Pinto, op. cit.; Capello and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca.*

[4] Principally *Landolphia*, which are big woody climbers; also the tall and stately *Funtumia elastica.* [5] Especially the *Carpodinus chylorrhiza.*

[6] Bastos, op. cit., p. 39. From this time until 1913 Angola continued to export ivory in ever-decreasing quantities, but from the port of Mossamedes and therefore not from the Umbundu country.

[7] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 6a Ser.*, pp. 189 f., 256.

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were from Viye,[1] since Viye was nearest to what was then the source of supply—Luva, Katanga, Barotze, &c. Caravans from other regions could and did pass through Viye, but they found it more economical and advantageous to go to other regions for other commodities. Bees-wax was to be found in most of the neighbouring regions and was brought to the coast by traders of all the Umbundu kingdoms. The same may be said of the 'first-class' rubber.[2] It was found chiefly in the forest regions of the interior, and the distance and consequent time involved made it a product hardly more profitable than bees-wax. Rubber was then simply one product along with the others, and until 1886 its export had its ups and downs.

Red Rubber, 1886–1900. In 1886 a caravan of Ovimbundu came down to Catumbela with loads of 'red rubber' for the first time. They had gotten it in the sandy country to the east of the Kuanza River, and a great deal nearer than the region of the 'first-class' rubber. At first, the price paid for this 'red rubber' was lower than for the other, but whereas a caravan could not procure loads of the first in less than eight months, the 'red rubber' could be gotten within three months.[3] Subsequently the red rubber was found to have certain superior qualities so that the higher price came to be paid for it. Immediately the export of rubber from Benguela increased enormously and reached undreamed-of totals.[4] Beeswax

[1] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., pp. 5, 6, 10, 16.

[2] There are very interesting summaries and descriptions of the commercial activities of the period—both native and European—in the *Relatorios do Districto de Benguella*, 1887, 1891 (Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Lisboa, 1888, 1894).

[3] See a note in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1888, p. 450 f.

[4] The values of the three leading products exported from Benguela from 1886 to 1891 were as follows (from *Relatorios do Districto de Benguella*, 1887, 1891):

Product	*1886*	*1887*	*1888*
Rubber . .	65,210$153	286,937$018	664,786$870
Wax . . .	187,483$964	158,945$996	109,734$140
Ivory . . .	37,692$536	36,923$042	29,997$968

Product	*1889*	*1890*	*1891*
Rubber . .	665,746$552	781,057$860	1,042,112$070
Wax . . .	133,436$344	93,680$580	123,645$876
Ivory . . .	31,701$133	11,298$782	45,392$534

For further statistical reports of this period, see also *Portugal, Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Relatório, Propostos de Lei*, &c. (Lisboa, 1899), p. 266 f.

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dropped off; of ivory there was no more. From 1893 on, says Bastos, rubber was practically the sole export of the District of Benguela and of its hinterland.[1] In 1891 more than one million milreis' worth of rubber was exported from Benguela, sixteen times as much as was exported only five years before, and three and one-half times the value of the *three* leading exports in 1886. Until 1891 this increase was not at the expense of other exports, but rather in addition to them.

All of this rubber, and the other exports as well, came to the coast in caravans of the Ovimbundu or their neighbours. In its inception and its great development it was an enterprise of the Ovimbundu. Everyone who was able to carry a load joined a caravan. It had always been the custom to take boys on trading expeditions, as young as they could go—say, from their tenth year—as a part of their education. Now girls were also taken and hardly any but the women stayed at home to raise the crops and provide rations for the caravans. European residents experienced great difficulty in securing necessary porters,[2] and this was one reason for finally putting through the wagon-road from Benguela to Caconda.[3] It was extended to Viye during the military campaign of 1890. The fever of the rubber trade reached into all the villages of the land and took in everyone able to travel. Mission schools had been established since 1881, but they had but few pupils until 1900. There were also other reasons for this, but a principal one was the attractiveness of the rubber trade.[4] Even the kings found it more difficult to gather armies for their wars: trade had become more attractive than the possibility of plunder.

Of all the kings who ruled the various Umbundu kingdoms during this time, the one who is best remembered is Ekuikui (II) of Bailundu (1876–93). Tradition has begun to ascribe to him and to his reign some things which properly belong to earlier

[1] Bastos, op. cit., p. 34. He does not include *serviçaes* in the exports, since they all went to the mainland or island plantations, but he remarks that at this time the price rose to even 90$000 (p. 33). The rise in price was perhaps due to the smaller supply owing to the preoccupation of the Ovimbundu with the rubber trade.

[2] See *Missionary Herald*, 1889, p. 350.

[3] *Benguella*, 1891, op. cit., p. 10.

[4] The reports of the governor of Benguela, to which reference has been made, also mentioned this fact, saying that although the American missions were intelligently directed, their results were small, since parents would not send their children to learn while they could pick up loads of rubber (1887, p. 19; 1891, p. 20).

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and the country settled down to the rule of 'the Fort' with Ndunduma's successor named by the captain-major. The occupation of Bailundu was effected at that same time,[1] while Ekuikui yet ruled, but for several years only a nominal force was employed.[2] In 1896 Ekuikui's successor, Numa II, attacked the fort, and the captain-major burned the *ombala*[3] in retaliation. From 1890 European traders settled in both Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers.[4] Then came the 'Bailundu War' of 1902,[5] after which the occupation of the whole Umbundu country was quickly completed.

The operations of 1890 had only interrupted the ivory trade. The campaign of 1902 completely paralysed trade in and with the interior, and greatly aggravated a depression which the District of Benguela was feeling because of a fall from the high prices which rubber had enjoyed in 1898–9.[6] After the war it seemed that trade would soon regain its former levels, and the export statistics show that for a time it did so, but closer inspection and a consideration of other factors which entered into the situation show that this was the beginning of the end. The price of rubber never regained its former level, so that the high value of exports reported represents an even larger quantity than before. The increased quantity largely represented a greatly debased product, for the native traders and producers understood nothing

and Garenganze, pp. 19–23) also wrote of these incidents but with more of the personal element and perhaps less accuracy.

[1] *Relatorio, Benguella*, 1892, p. 13 f.

[2] In 1892 there were 2 soldiers in Bailundu, 135 in Viye, 21 in Caconda (*Benguella*, op. cit., 1891, p. 15). Bailundu tradition says that (native) soldiers were first brought in disguised as porters with loads of goods.

[3] *Ombala*, capital village.

[4] A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 36, 43.

[5] This war was named in Umbundu after the Bailundu war leader, *Mutu ya Kevela*. He is named among the kings, but it was only during the war that he assumed power. The immediate causes were excesses on the part of European residents against the natives, especially in connexion with 'the recruiting of contract labour'. The best work on the subject is in the nature of a report written by the man who was then governor, Cabral Moncada, *A Campanha do Bailundo* (Luanda 1903). General ideas may be had from *Missionary Herald*, 1902, pp. 353, 400, 452 f., 520 f.; 1903, pp. 22 f., 69 f., 122, 211 f.; H. W. Nevinson, op. cit., p. 157 f.; and J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 122 f. The account given by Keiling (*Quarenta Anos de África*) is of interest for certain details of this war, but its statements are inaccurate and its judgements unreliable. The missionaries sought to dissuade the natives from taking up arms, and once the fighting had begun they provided medical services for both sides and sent food-supplies to the garrison of the beleaguered Portuguese fort.

[6] A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 39 f.

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of price fluctuations and sought by every means to maintain the former level of returns. The European traders aided and abetted this process in order to bolster up their credit, for from 1887, when the boom began, most of them were operating on shoe-strings. The result was almost immediate. Benguela rubber was classified as 'third-class' at a price one-fourth the former rate.[1] This was the end of the rubber trade. With the establishment of plantations in the East Indies, in South America, and on the African west coast, which produced a uniformly high quality, the native-produced wild rubber of Angola ceased to have any quotation whatever.[2]

Export statistics show that the totals in quantity and value of rubber exported were nearly as large in 1916 as in 1888, and that in 1918 and 1919 they fell to almost nothing,[3] but for the Ovimbundu the rubber trade ended in 1911—'the year of the great hunger in the Ngangela country'. They remember that many caravans which went out at the beginning of that year's dry season never did return, or that only a few of their stronger members returned—mere skeletons and shadows. *Ngandi*[4] tried to eat wax and died; *Ngandi* killed and ate his younger brother, saying, 'It is better that one of us should live to return, rather than both die.' The caravans usually carried actual rations for only a few days of the outward journey (to last through the 'Hungry Country'), and relied on buying the food needed for the rest of the time. This experience put an end to a trade which was already passing out of the hands of the Ovimbundu—owing to the multiplication of European trading establishments, not only throughout the Umbundu country but even in the 'Ngangela' regions, and the building of the Benguela Railway, which finally put an end to porterage and the trading caravans of former days.[5]

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[1] A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 40 ff.

[2] In 1942, after the capture of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies by the Japanese and the consequent acute shortage of rubber, the gathering of wild rubber in eastern Angola was resumed, most of the product going to Britain. Some, however, has gone to the national factories at Luanda and in Portugal, and consequently there is a stimulus to maintain the production of wild rubber in the colony, but unless more humane methods are used with the native producers the present limited supply is bound to fall off.

[3] Statistics of export and import are given by F. Trancoso, op. cit. The figures for rubber from 1888 to 1919 are on p. 36.

[4] *Ngandi*, the Umbundu equivalent for 'John Doe' or 'So-and-so'.

[5] The Benguela Railway (*Caminho de Ferro de Benguela*) began construction in 1904; in 1910 it reached Cuma (198 miles) in Ciyaka, well up on the Plateau

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It must not be supposed that trade has been abandoned. Every sale or exchange of field or garden produce is a serious trading operation. Produce will often be carried a very long way for a very small advantage, or even for no apparent gain. The successively lower economic levels to which the colony, and especially the natives, have fallen since the close of the rubber trade is a factor. Individual trading, involving journeys into even such distant regions as Ovamboland, is a latter-day development since European rule has made for greater personal security.

Another factor which operated to end all large-scale trading operations of the Ovimbundu was the disappearance of the traffic in human beings. It has been shown that even before they ruled over the Ovimbundu the 'Jagas' were leading intermediaries in this traffic, and the Ovimbundu have continued in this rcle right down to the period under review. Whatever name or form it bore at the coast, in the interior the traffic was the same. At the height of the rubber boom this traffic, along with other activities, suffered a decline, being somewhat less profitable than rubber. At that time came the peak of the rum trade and the demoralization which it brought turned the point of the 'contract labour' traffic in upon the Ovimbundu themselves. Such Umbundu customs as getting into debt, the pawning of relatives, and also such factors as times of food scarcity, quickly taken advantage of by the traders, served to exacerbate the hardships, and the result was the native uprising of 1902 known as the 'Bailundu Campaign', but extending beyond the limits of Bailundu. The effects of this uprising upon trade have already been noted. Pending investigation of its causes, the export of 'contract labourers' was stopped,[1] but the practice was soon resumed. The scandalous conditions then obtaining in the neighbouring 'Congo Free State' almost from its founding until 1908 greatly aided and abetted the slave-traffic, however much this new frontier may have interfered with trade in ivory and rubber. Trade with the *revoltés* was particularly lucrative to Ovimbundu and other traders of Angola. Powder and arms were an especially important item in this trade.

and just under the rim of the Highland. In 1916 construction stopped at Chinguar (312 miles and on the edge of Viye) until after World War I. It was completed to the Angola frontier in 1929 and the Belgian section finished in 1931, with transcontinental connexion at Elizabethville.

[1] Cabral Moncada, op. cit.; Massano de Amorim, *Relatorio ácêrca os acontecimentos do Bailundo* (Loanda, 1903); *Missionary Herald*, 1903, p. 69.

EARLY HISTORY

175 The earliest records of native migration in what is now Angola concern the warrior hordes of Jagas (Jaggas, Jakas, Iagges, Giaghis, Giaki, Ayaka etc.), who from about 1560 onwards were reported in north-western Angola and the adjacent Kingdom of Congo.(1) Various attempts have been made to identify the Jagas. Van Wing(2) and Torday(3) hold that the name is derived from the Bayaka tribe on the middle Kwango; Battell's account would seem to identify them with the Bangala (Imbangala) of Jaga Cassange, who are known to have been invading western Angola at this time. Childs points to suggestive links of the Jagas with Ovimbundu dynasties: e.g. the Ciyaka group of Ovimbundu, who recognise the region of Cassange as the location of their earliest ancestral tombs. He also shows that certain Jaga customs as described by the earlier writers resemble those connected with Ovimbundu kingship. Childs suggests that the name *Jaga* (which seems to derive from the verb "to fight" *-oku yaka*; "they fight" = *a yaka* or *vayaka*) was originally a name given to these hordes or to their leaders by the African peoples whom they fought and conquered.(4)

175 177 [021] European contacts with the people of the Benguella Highland took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before the migrations had settled down. Dutch and Portuguese raids took place in 1645, 1650 and 1661, and since fire-arms appear to have been used at that time by the Africans, it seems likely that Umbundu dynasties had them when they came into the region.(5) In 1769 the throwing open of the hinterland to European traders(6) led to greatly increased commercial contact, and this in turn gave rise to wars between the native rulers and the Portuguese. In 1774-6 a war was fought between the Portuguese and their native allies and the kings of Bailundu and Cingolo. Ciyaka and neighbouring kingdoms continued to raid the European garrisons until recent times, and Europeans appear not to have penetrated Ciyaka until almost the turn of the present century.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OVIMBUNDU TRADE

175 439 There are indications that before the end of the eighteenth century the Ovimbundu were becoming, or had become, traders. The slave-trade was formally prohibited in 1836,(7) and subsequently European traders began to move inland in greater numbers in search of ivory, settling especially in Bailundu and Viye. This began a period of great commercial development among the Ovimbundu, the principal commodities being ivory, beeswax, and, in the third quarter of the century, rubber.(8) Trading caravans of the Ovimbundu (under the names *Mambari*, *Eiheans*, *Bailundus*, or *Mbundus*) became

(1) See especially Battell, pp.19f. (2) 1921, p.106.
(3) 1925, map facing p.282. (4) Childs, op.cit., pp.185-6. (5) Ibid., p.195.
(6) Entry of European traders to the hinterland had been forbidden by law in 1620, although the law had become largely a dead letter.
(7) Although contraband slave-trade continued until late in the nineteenth century, the slaves being used for the transport of ivory and other goods from the hinterland to the coast.
(8) These were at first one-way agreements, allowing Ovimbundu to trade in many lands, since it was to the advantage of the rulers of these countries. The Ovimbundu are said in fact to have discouraged the tribes to the east from venturing out on their own account. See Livingstone 1857, p.384, Cameron 1877, p.406.

known throughout the territory bounded by the Congo river, the Great Lakes, and the Kalahari desert. Most other Ovimbundu kingdoms fell into line with the trading activities of Bailundu and Viye. By the middle of the century this had resulted in a loose system of alliances and mutual understandings to the effect that the traders and caravans of each kingdom would be permitted to enter or travel through the others. At time these "trade-agreements" seem to have embraced all the Umbundu-speaking peoples, but violations were frequent, especially between Viye and the Ciyaka-Cingola-Citata group. Trade-agreements were also made beyond the Umbundu-speaking area, e.g. with the Mwata Yamvo of the Lunda.(1)

From roughly the turn of the twentieth century the large-scale trading activities of the Ovimbundu declined. Military occupation of Viye and Bailundu took place in 1890, and from that date European traders began to settle in Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers. In 1902 the Bailundu war occurred, after which the occupation of the whole of Umbundu country was quickly completed. This campaign paralysed trade, which was already suffering because of a great fall in rubber prices. Other factors which hastened the decline of Ovimbundu trading activities(2) include the famine in Ngangela country in 1911, the disappearance of illicit slave-traffic, and, finally, the building of the Benguella Railway (commenced in 1904), which put an end to the porterage and trading caravans of former days.(3)

LANGUAGE

"Umbundu is usually(4) associated with Ambo, Herero and kindred languages. It would however seem that more comparative study is required to show how real this apparent relationship is: it appears to be especially based on the fact that Umbundu uses prefixial o- with many of its noun classes. In general structure, however, Umbundu shows remarkable similarity in grammar and vocabulary to Luena, Luchazi and other languages of the Ganguella [Ngangela] group.

Features of Umbundu which are worthy of note are:-

i. Presence of nasal vowels before and after 'l', 'h', 'v' and 'w'.

ii. In certain nasal compounds, subtraction occurs, involving the second consonant, but not the nasal, e.g. *umutu* is realised as *omutu*.

iii. Compared with the Lunda-Luena languages Umbundu exhibits an unusually large number of defective verbs.

iv. A vowel system of five vowels.

(1) These were at first one-way agreements, allowing Ovimbundu to trade in many lands, since it was to the advantage of the rulers of these countries. The Ovimbundu are said in fact to have discouraged the tribes to the east from venturing out on their own account. See Livingstone 1857, p.384, Cameron 1877, p.406.
(2) For much greater detail concerning the rise and fall of Ovimbundu trade see Childs op.cit., pp.191-215.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Doke 1945, p.101; Guthrie 1948, p.64; Childs 1949, p.8.

233 The cattle herd obtains most of its food by grazing, but in the dry season the grass withers. Childs states(1) that "Herding has been a [609] function of the sister's son, and even now there is a reluctance on the part of the boys to herd for their fathers."

235 462 [844] Chickens are owned and looked after by both men and women, but other animals only by men. Boys may have small stock of their own, and a boy's economic independence most frequently begins with his owning a chicken.

231 Hambly states that goats are more common than any other animal, and that every family has one or more. These animals are not fed or watered, but are allowed to wander to find their own sustenance. Goats are not milked. Young males are castrated. The goat is frequently used in sacrifices. Sheep also are allowed to find their own food; the males are not castrated. Pigs are cared for comparatively carefully, receiving water and a daily supply of sweet potatoes and their leaves, together with some corn. Male pigs are castrated.(2)

APICULTURE(3)

[439] Beeswax was an important item of trade in the caravan days, and is still sold to Portuguese traders' stores, where it is massed into large rectangular cakes for export. Honey is eaten alone or with manioc, and [742] a fermented beer called *ochasa* is made by adding honey to corn-beer. [273] Fibre strainers are used for cleaning the wax, and large shallow baskets [252] are employed for drying the honey in the sun.

Large cylindrical hives, which are private property, are placed high in the trees. These are made by removing a cylinder of bark and lashing the halves together with strands of bark, forming a hive which has a diameter of one foot.

In Elende honey is removed from the hives during the months of August and December. One man ascends the tree in order to lower the hive with a long rope of bark or plaited fibre, while beneath the tree men are prepared to take the hive, which is opened over a smoky fire.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

326 782 *Smithing.* The profession of blacksmith or *ocivinda* is an important one, and, like hunting and divining, is sacred and is entered with special ritual. Often, but not always, these three professions are passed on by inheritance. For smithing two years' apprenticeship to a member of the profession is necessary, and is usually entered upon at the age of eighteen. At the end of this period the master examines his pupil, and makes tools for him, especially the heavy hammer or *onjundo* which is regarded as symbolic of his craft. For the inauguration ceremony the boy provides four chickens (2 male, 2 female), a dog, and a goat; the blood of these animals is sprinkled on his tools, and their flesh is eaten at a feast [553] attended by the villagers. Throughout the procedure the boy remains standing on the small anvil. Finally he is asked to choose his professional name; he then steps down from the anvil a qualified blacksmith.

(1) Childs, 1949, p.109. (2) Hambly, op.cit., p.154.
(3) Hambly, (4) 1934.

Formerly it was believed that a smith owed his skill to the help of the spirit of a person whom he had killed, and wooden effigies of this person were kept by the smith.(1)

The principal products of a blacksmith's forge are axe-heads, hoe blades,(2) tools for mat-making, arrowheads, knives, and brass bracelets. Iron, which is fairly plentiful, was formerly smelted over charcoal fires.(3) Today smiths use scrap iron.

Pottery

Pot-making is a part of women's work among the Ovimbundu. A wheel is not used. Clay is mixed with a silicate, usually gravel, rolled out in long ropes, and the pot built by the coiling process.(4) Pots are ornamented when wet by making deep incisions with a piece of gourd; they are then sun-dried, and fired in a kiln of dry grass. Pots are used as water-containers, as cooking vessels and as vessels for storing corn and beans, and, when made in a very large size, for brewing beer.(5)

No ritual attaches to pot-making, except at the opening of a new clay-pit, when, in the presence of both men and women from the village, the medicine-man sacrifices a chicken over the open pit.(6)

Weaving and Spinning

Looms have not been used among the Ovimbundu since they have been a people, although progenitors of the kingly families who came from the Bangala or Congo groups may have done weaving. Trade cloth has been known and used by the Ovimbundu for nearly 300 years.(7) Skins have been used in remote areas; Hambly when he mentions bark-cloth as being worn by the Ovimbundu is probably referring to the Ngangela. Spun cotton, however, is used for repairs, and there is a cotton plant in most gardens. Spinning is done always by men.(8)

Basketry

All girls learn to make baskets, although some become more proficient than others. Knowledge of basket-making implies also an understanding of dyeing, since coloured strands of grass are interwoven to make geometric patterns.(9) Baskets, and also basket-trays, are usually made by the coiling process.(10)

(1) Hambly, (2) 1934, pp.158-60. The ceremony was described from Njangalo village in Elende.
(2) See Cashmore, 1944, pp.140-1.
(3) For details of the blacksmith's forge and tools, see Hambly, op.cit., pp.160-1; Cashmore, 1944, pp.139, 140, 145-6.
(4) See Hambly, op.cit. Plates XXXIII and XXXIV, and Childs, 1949, Plate VIII.
(5) Hambly, op.cit., p.168; Cashmore, op.cit., pp.144-5.
(6) Hambly, op.cit., p.169.
(7) Childs, personal communication. See also Childs, 1949, p.171, note 1.
(8) See Hambly, p.177, and Cashmore, 1944, p.136.
(9) Red, yellow, black, and brown dyes are used. For a description of the process, see Hambly, op.cit., pp.170-1.
(10) See Hambly, op.cit., p.171, and Cashmore, op.cit., pp.141-2 for details of basket-making. Also for illustrations Hambly, op.cit. and Childs, 1949.

Mat-making

462 285 [412] The making of mats is a specialised craft for men. Generally elderly men are the mat-makers. Two tools are used, a borer and a needle, both products of the blacksmith's forge. Hambly[1] describes the making of reed sleeping mats, large mats used for partitions, and string bags. There are four distinct types of mats, each of which has its specialist.[2]

Leather-work

282 Leather pouches worn on a broad leather belt are part of the essential equipment of the hunter. The pouch is square, rectangular, or semi-cylindrical in shape, and may be decorated with cross-shaped patterns, or brass-headed nails used for decorative effect. Hide is also used for the seats of four-legged wooden stools. Hides are crudely dressed: they are soaked, the inner surface rubbed with ashes, the hair scraped away, and the hide pegged out.[3]

Wood-carving

323 [463] Wood-carving, which is men's work, includes the following specialisations: doors, windows and their frames; coffins; beds, tables and chairs; mortars, pestles, grinding-handles, and handles for various iron implements; stools, household utensils, carved images etc., drums and other musical instruments; canoes (dug-outs and coracles).[4] Illustrations are given by Hambly.[5]

TRADE

438 484 791 [482] Caravan trade is now confined to short journeys when corn, beans and beeswax are carried by men and women porters to the traders' stores. Formerly however it was an important feature of tribal life. Each caravan had its professional leader, and was accompanied by a diviner or medicine-man. Before a caravan started out, a ceremony was performed at which the principal performers were the village headman and the medicine-man. The head of the former headman was brought from its box, sewn in oxhide; blood from a sacrificed animal was sprinkled on the head, and invocation was made to the deceased by the village headman, asking for good fortune for the journey.[6]

438 436 Today the Ovimbundu exchange products among themselves both by barter and the use of Portuguese money,[7] but there are no large markets except in the towns.

[439] 438 The "trade-agreements" between the Ovimbundu kingdoms and between the Ovimbundu and other tribes have been mentioned above.[8] Accompanying these, regional industrial and commercial specialisations within Ovimbundu country developed. Thus in the middle of the last century

(1) Hambly, op.cit., pp.169-70.
(2) Childs, 1949, p.109.
(3) Hambly, op.cit., p.176.
(4) Childs, op.cit., p.110.
(5) Op.cit., Plates XIII to XVII.
(6) Hambly, op.cit., p.156.
(7) For details of Ovimbundu units of measurement see Hambly, op.cit., p.157.
(8) p.9.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

175 that the Church participated actively (T. Lewis, The Old Kingdom of Kongo, *Geog. Journ.*, 1908, pp. 598–600).

Political influence of the Portuguese, working often through the agency of Jesuit priests, led to factions within the Congo Empire, and the resulting disturbances caused movements of peoples that affected the whole of northern Angola and the population of the Benguela Highlands.

Portuguese penetration of the hinterland of Angola, especially from Loanda to Bihé, was concerned with attempts to subjugate native tribes, the establishment of trading posts, and the encouragement of the slave trade (S. Marquardsen, Angola, 1928, pp. 6–10).

439 721 The value of the Portuguese as allies of Umbundu caravans from Bihé lay in their ability to supply guns and powder to their native henchmen, who gave something more than military service in return. In response to Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory, Umbundu caravans made long journeys into the Congo basin, Rhodesia, south and southwest Angola, and possibly across Africa to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The arms supplied in exchange for ivory and slaves must have helped the Ovimbundu in all their predatory excursions.

648 Thus the Ovimbundu were, in the early centuries of contact with the Portuguese, invaders encouraged in the building up of their tribal life and resources. Never were the Portuguese strong enough completely to subjugate northern Angola. Relationships with natives, especially the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, were directed toward alliances on a commercial basis. The political result of this was a combination of the Portuguese and the stronger tribes for the exploitation of the weaker.

167 177 The historical ethnology of the southwest Congo is so complex that the elements are difficult to disentangle. The number of tribes concerned is great, and their movements are not easy to follow; but a gradual extension of people from the Congo in a southwesterly direction through Lunda to the Benguela Highlands (1600–1800) seems to be the summation of all the conflict. I regard the Ovimbundu as the most southerly branch of these mass movements, during which they received a discipline that enabled them to make their home in central Angola, despite opposition from the Portuguese and earlier arrivals.

114 For these conclusions reliance has been placed on the extensive field work and historical analyses of E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, whose "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bambala" (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXV, pp. 398–426) have proved of particular value in this connection.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

The foregoing facts, when compared with field work among the Ovimbundu, indicate that the old culture of the Congo and northern Angola bears a strong resemblance to Umbundu culture at the present day. A more detailed analysis of this resemblance is made in chapter X.

The following notes dealing with exploration in Angola (1800–1930) are adduced for critical comparison with my own observations among the Ovimbundu.

The work of Sir R. F. Burton describing the exploration of Lacerda and other Portuguese pioneers, is more useful for geographical than for ethnological information. Lacerda's journey to Czambe, south of Lake Moero, was performed in 1798. A mention of veneration for the dead and consultation of the deceased on all occasions of war or of good fortune, is made (p. 127). These are important points in the present tribal life of the Ovimbundu.

Bowditch (1824) writes from information given to him by Almeida and Saldanha. There are valuable references to the Vacilenge, a people adjacent to the Ovimbundu, who refused to kill their cattle, "rather than do which they will endure famine to extremity." This note was made about Long. 15° E. and Lat. 15° S. (p. 34). The cattle were milked, and cattle-raiding by the Ovimbundu was common at this time. Many present-day Ovimbundu do not milk their cattle, but the Vacilenge still follow their milking custom observed before 1824.

Livingstone's journey through northeast and northern Angola in 1853 contains references to the Vachokue who seemed bent on plunder (I, p. 370). Livingstone noted cotton spinning, which I recorded as an occupation of males of the Ovimbundu at Elende. Livingstone, like other early travelers, encountered caravans of Bihéans (Ovimbundu) bearing elephants' tusks and beeswax, commodities, which, along with slaves, formed the chief merchandise of these caravans from the Benguela Highlands (p. 466). Livingstone notes and sketches (Plate XIII, Fig. 10) the double-handled hoe (p. 442) which is still used.

J. J. Monteiro (I, p. 61) saw the poison ordeal administered. The poison itself was prepared from the thick hard bark of a large tree (*Erythrophlaeum guineense*). The place of observation was Mongue Grande, just south of the Congo estuary, and again Monteiro was present when the poison cup was given to two women at Ambrizette. Of this ordeal there is more to be said when discussing the culture contacts of the Ovimbundu, because the ordeal is a basic factor of

301 The new ornaments had acquired no sentimental value, therefore
321 their price was moderate.

[171] *Omba* shells are to be seen in use from Kipungo southward through Huila, among the Luvando, and among the Vakuanyama of southern
[554] Angola. In the places mentioned one may judge the social status of a woman by the number of *omba* shells she wears. A principal wife is usually well supplied with these ornaments.

302 In this southern journey it was noticeable that there was an
171 increasing use of red pigment which is lavishly employed for smearing
[294] every kind of ornament, the body, and the hair. Leather belts and skirts of Vakuanyama women are thickly coated with red pigment which is invariably mixed with grease. The red powder is prepared
[824] by desiccating a red wood called *tukula* by the Vakuanyama, a name which is used through Angola and the southern Congo area.

412 From Kipungo southward through the Vakuanyama country
171 there is a notable absence of decorative wooden hair combs. On the contrary, delicately carved combs are used by both men and women of the Ovimbundu. The Vasele make such combs, but by far the best
[532] examples are made and used by the Vachokue tribe of eastern Angola. Here the decorative design usually includes a well-carved human figure at the top of the comb.

301 Among the Vakuanyama, necklaces of disks made from ostrich
[237] eggshell are worn by the women only. A woman of importance has a dozen loops of such necklaces, each loop being about 125 cm long.
[551] These necklaces are so greatly esteemed that only after much persuasion can a woman be induced to part with a single link. Perhaps, as is the case with *omba* shell, there is more than the intrinsic value to be considered. One point is constantly noticed in considering social status and ornament. All the wives of a wealthy man, especially among the Vakuanyama, are made to advertise their husband's position by the profusion of their ornaments and the quality of their leather skirts and belts.

[321] There is, in addition to the necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads, a highly prized necklace made from small perforated disks of shell having a diameter of about a centimeter. The Vakuanyama women smear a necklace of this kind with grease and *tukula* powder; the
[435] value of a necklace 125 cm long is equivalent to that of an ox. In describing these necklaces there is interest in noting that they are traded to the south of Angola from places six hundred miles to the
[439] north; therefore their value is to some extent dependent on rarity and distant origin.

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Young unmarried girls of the Luvando tribe wear a large number of leg-bands which extend from the ankles to the knees as a sign that puberty has not been reached. These leg-bands are somewhat roughly twisted from fibrous roots and twigs from which the cortex has been removed. Collars of tough, elastic, cane-like substance are worn by Luvando women, and so numerous are these that the neck is entirely covered. These cane neck-bands are ornamented with burned, incised, geometrical patterns, and, in keeping with other ornaments, are thickly smeared with grease and red powder from *tukula* wood (Plate LIX, Figs. 1, 2).

Women of the Vakipungo and Vakuanyama wear heavy coils of brass or copper wire on their forearms. In southern Angola women wear bracelets of twisted wire which are identical with those worn by Zulu women. Bracelets of beaten trade brass, ornamented with incised geometrical designs, are worn by women of the Ovimbundu, Vakuanyama, Luvando, and Vakipungo tribes. Ovimbundu women now depend largely on trade goods for personal ornament.

Ovimbundu men and women are dressed in trade cloth. Unmarried girls wear one piece of cloth which hangs from the armpits to the knees. A married woman drapes herself with two pieces of cloth, a skirt hanging from her girdle, and an upper piece so folded as to hold her baby tightly to her back. Men wear a single piece of cloth as a skirt; the upper part of the body is bare (Plates XLIX–LI). From the region of Kipungo to the southern border, clothing is of leather. The Vachokue wear trade cloth or bark cloth.

Hairdressing is of many styles. Ovimbundu women braid their hair neatly in strands across their foreheads, and small blue and white trade beads are used to decorate the braids. The hairdressing of the Ovimbundu women is different from that in any other part of Angola. At an early age the hair is trained into two long loops at the back of the head. Then these are covered with black cloth which is bound tightly. The two loops are afterwards studded with brass-headed tacks obtained from a store (Plate XL, Fig. 3).

Luvando women in the region of Kipungo dress the hair to form a large triangular projection from the back of the head. Girls of the Vaheneca tribe near Huila mass the hair with clay to form large "cock's combs." Women of Gambos pass each small plait of hair through hollow reeds. Humbe women do not redden or grease their hair which is massed into three high ridges on the top, while at the sides there are hornlike projections. Vakuanyama women dress their hair with grease and *tukula* powder. A principal wife builds up her

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302 [595] 171 A principal wife builds up her hair into five high cones. Vachokue women mass their hair into separate balls shaped and held by clay and red coloring matter. I know of no hairdressing for Vachokue men, but ornamental wooden combs are sometimes used.

304 In only one place have I seen a nose pin worn, namely, the Esele country of Vila Nova de Selles. The fashion is out of date, but women of only twenty-five years of age have the septum of the nose bored; evidently the custom has not been obsolete for a long period (Plate LXXV, Fig. 1).

177 439 301 The most popular European importations are blue cloth with white spots, metal hair combs, beads, and bright metal crosses bearing a figure of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus. This ornament has penetrated to districts far away from Christian missions, and its wide dispersal shows that a newly introduced and attractive ornament from a foreign source may readily be accepted by tribes of different cultures.

517 301 There are interesting points of psychology in the attitude of the Ovimbundu toward European importations. Only a few patterns of cloth are favored, and there is no sale for any other design. Some designs are thought to be appropriate for young girls while others are favored by older women. The same may be said of colored beads, for whereas both blue and white beads are the usual decoration for young women and immature girls, red beads are worn chiefly by the elderly women.

178 A consideration of personal ornament establishes the general truth that in scarification, hairdressing, tooth mutilation, the use of red powder and grease, the anointing of the hair with palm oil, and the wearing of trade cloth, leather, or bark cloth, there is little exchange of styles. There are diffusions in language and other cultural traits, but decorative elements which have for a long period been regarded as distinctive of tribal life are rigidly preserved.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

the tree in order to lower the hive with a long rope of bark or plaited fiber, while beneath the tree men are prepared to take the hive, which is opened over a smoky fire. The men wear no protection, consequently they are badly stung. Boys are encouraged to help, and those who run away receive no honey. Honey may be eaten alone or with manioc. No drink is made from honey only, but *ochasa* is the name given to beer with honey in it. *Ovingundu* is a drink made from pounded corn which has been soaked in water to which a little honey has been added. The drink is allowed to remain untouched over night; thus it becomes sweet and is mildly intoxicating. 231 263 273

Wax is a very important item of trade. In the remote places natives bring to small trading posts balls of wax which are about two pounds in weight. These in former days were a standard of exchange in terms of which other values could be measured. These balls of wax are made into large cakes for foreign export. In the Esele country a fiber strainer is used for cleaning the wax. Honey is sometimes dried in very large baskets which are three feet in diameter and two inches deep. These baskets were not observed among the Ovimbundu, but they are used in the region of Cassanga in southern Angola. The honey of wild bees when eaten in the comb is palatable, it would be more so if one could disregard the presence of numerous dead bees. 439 257 [436]

The bow is the chief weapon of the hunter. The release of the arrow is made with the index and middle fingers (Plate XXXIX, Fig. 1). I have observed this method among the Ovimbundu of the Benguela Highlands, in the region of Kipungo, in the far south among the Vakuanyama, and among the Vasele of the Novo Redondo hinterland. Arrows differ considerably in pattern as the illustrations show (Plate XVII, Figs. 1–9); the Ovimbundu have arrow-points of excellent workmanship. The manufacture of these arrow-points is one of the most skilled occupations of the blacksmith. Each man makes his own shafts and feathers them. The arrows of the Vasele have leaf-shaped iron points; so also have those used by the Vakuanyama. 411 171 224 [326]

Among the Ovimbundu are specialists who make bows from elastic woods called *usia* and *osambia*. The bow itself is *ohonji* and the arrow is *usongo*. At the third shot I saw a young Ovimbundu boy split a cane which was placed upright at a distance of thirty-three feet. The throwing club (*ohunya*) is used for killing small game such as hares. [463]

411 [237] The only spear (*unga*) that I have seen is made entirely of iron. The shaft is covered with the tail of an ox to which the tuft of hair remains attached. This is the spear formerly used in warfare. The distribution is wide. Such spears were purchased from the Ovimbundu of Elende and Bailundu and also from the Vakuanyama living in the far south of Angola, but I do not think that the Ovimbundu make these spears, which are probably traded from the south. [439]

224 (411) A hunter is considered exceptionally fortunate if he possesses an old muzzle-loading gun (*uta*). I have seen only two hunters who owned such a weapon. In one instance the barrel was bound to the stock with hide thongs, while the woodwork was decorated with brass tacks. Powder and fragments of metal are carried in a leather pouch which is attached to a broad, leather waist belt (Plate XIII, Fig. 6). There is certainly a feeling among hunters that the sale of a well-tried weapon will be followed by bad luck. The gun is sometimes fixed to form a trap in such a way that an antelope may tread on the string and so discharge the gun. Sometimes a piece of meat is attached to a string which is fastened to the trigger. A heavy beam of wood into which an iron spike is fastened was used in districts where the hippopotamus and elephant were hunted. Such a trap was fixed over a path known to be frequented by these animals. Big game of this type is now rare.

In the Esele country the following traps are in use: (1) A deep, narrow, grass-covered pit from the bottom of which sharp stakes project upward; this trap is known as *okueve*. (2) A simple trap consisting of four long sharp stakes which are fixed in the ground so that they incline toward a gap through which a buck is likely to jump (Plate LXXIII, Fig. 2). (3) The trap (*ocisonga*) for lions and leopards. This is a heavily built structure provided with a panel-like door which slides down when the entering animal releases a cord fastened to the bait (Plate XCII, Fig. 2). (4) A heavy trap triangular in form. This trap is not an enclosure, but a covering under which the animal has to go in order to reach the bait. In addition to the foregoing examples there is a trap (*onjanjo*) which is used for snaring antelope. The essential of the device is a loop which is bound to the end of a supple branch lightly fastened to the ground. This, however, did not come under my observation.

Long, cone-shaped, cane structures are placed in the grass, which is then fired. Animals disturbed and frightened by the fire rush into the wide end of the trap, then make their way to the narrow end (Plate XV, Fig. 5). One such trap is modified to form a snare with

235 guese for a long period. The chicken is highly esteemed as a sacrificial
[242] animal, but it could not be said that the flesh is in common use. This failure to develop and utilize to the full, again raises the point of social custom and economic habit. Chickens are cared for, as may be seen in the way they are cooped at night. Sometimes a hen may be seen sitting on her clutch of eggs in a dark corner of a hut, unmolested by people and dogs; yet it is certain that there is no concentration on the rearing of poultry.

Eggs are laid, and chickens are hatched throughout the year except in the months of November and December when corn supplies
[252] are at their lowest ebb. Eggs are boiled, or fried on a fragment of
[264] pottery, but they are not sucked.

231 The domestic cat is not raised by the Ovimbundu. Wild cats are common, but there is no evidence of their domestication. Small birds and monkeys are sometimes kept as pets.

TRADE AND TRANSPORT

438 Caravan trade, which was at one time an important factor of tribal life, is now confined to short journeys for transporting corn, beans, and beeswax to traders' stores. But in spite of present-day
439 decline of transportation the memory of more prosperous times still exists.

Names of distant places survive in the Umbundu language; thus Tanganyika is called Nakandundu, while the name for far eastern Angola is Muacimbundu, the name of a one-time important chief. The Umbundu language is understood in all parts of Angola, far away from typical Umbundu centers of culture.

484 In the old days there were professional leaders of caravans, and a
788 ceremony was conducted before starting. The medicine-man and the
778 village chief were the principal performers in a rite which consisted
787 of bringing from its box the head of a former chief, sewn in oxhide. An animal was sacrificed so that the blood could be used for sprinkling on the chief's head, and on some occasions of this kind the head was sewn up in a new piece of oxhide. Direct appeal was made to the preserved head by the reigning chief, who asked for good fortune on the journey.

The medicine-man who accompanied a caravan carried with him a female wooden figure decorated with feathers (Plate XXI, Fig. 5). When a branching of the paths gave rise to doubts concerning the correct way the wooden figure was consulted by the medicine-man.

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174 pattern. In principle, the puberty rites for boys and girls of eastern Angola are the same as those of the Congo region, and masks of eastern Angola resemble those used by the Bapindi of the southwest Congo. Cannibalism was a factor common to the Congo basin and the territory occupied by the Ovimbundu, who have practised ceremonial cannibalism within the memory of persons still alive.

The foregoing summary, supported by preceding details, makes clear that a substantial part of Umbundu culture is definitely like that of the Congo basin. There can be no objection to the evidence as a possibly fortuitous series of vague resemblances, since the entire backgrounds are of the same pattern. The Ovimbundu have a tribal life which is demonstrably a part of the matrix from which, on historical grounds, it is thought to have been derived. The loss of elements, the stressing of others, and the welding of traits from different sources, are matters for discussion in a final chapter dealing with the processes of cultural growth.

RHODESIA

439 177 A constant factor in the economic and cultural development of the Ovimbundu has been the caravan trade from Bihé and Bailundu northeastward across Africa to the Great Lakes, and southward across Moxico into the Zambezi valley and Rhodesia. Every traveler from Battell (1600) onward mentions these caravans which returned to the Benguela Highlands with slaves and ivory. The traditions of journeys still live. Umbundu words are used to describe the Great Lakes, and I have mentioned a wooden figure used for consultation by the medicine-man at a division of routes. There are even today a few large caravans.

The first regular slave traders into northern Rhodesia were the Mbundus from Angola. The Lambas say they were peaceful traders who brought calico, guns, and beads to trade for ivory and slaves. The Mbundu traders were often treated treacherously by both the Lambas and the Lenjes. In some cases they were robbed by the Lamba chiefs. It is said that the Lenjes used to bring their own children to the Mbundu traders in order to buy calico and powder. In the evening the Lenjes used the newly acquired guns to attack the Mbundu traders so that they might recover the children who had been traded (C. M. Doke, p. 79).

The account of F. S. Arnot is a valuable record of a journey which brought him into touch with these traders' caravans, whose route he followed into Garenganze, a country to the southwest of

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Lake Moero, close to the territory occupied by the Barotse. With his Bihéan carriers Arnot passed along the valley of the Kwando (Livingstone's Chobe). He notes the use of bark cloth (p. 101) and gives an excellent description of the divination basket. "For divining they have a basket filled with bones, teeth, finger nails, seeds, stones, and such articles which are rattled by the diviner till the spirit comes and speaks to him by the movement of these things" (pp. 106, 116). The *onganga* or witch doctor is described on page 115; he is a person not to be confused with the *ocimbanda* or legitimate medicine-man.

Arnot saw a corpse tied to a pole supported on the shoulders of several men. "The witch-doctors demanded of the dead man the cause of his death, whether by poison or by witchcraft, and if by the latter, who was the witch? The jerking of the bier is taken as the dead man's answer." This is the ceremony I described at Elende about three hundred miles from the place mentioned by Arnot. "When a chief dies they say he is sick or asleep [p. 117], and an oxhide from a beast killed at the funeral should be buried with the chief's remains." Arnot was not quite correct; the body of the chief is sewn in the hide. "The people of Bihé say that there is a great spirit Suku over and above all, but they do not know him—I cannot say they believe him to be a universal god" (p. 119).

These instances recorded half a century ago are particularly interesting because of their agreement with present-day procedure. Arnot's description of the Vachokue country and the preparation of beeswax, also the method of extracting honey from hives lodged in trees (p. 146), would serve as a present-day record.

Arnot's information concerns the Garenganze country bordering on Katanga, a copper-producing region near the Lualaba River. Here traders from Uganda, Unyamwezi, the Luba country, the basin of the Zambezi, Bihé, Nyasa, and Zanzibar, gathered to carry on their trade in copper, salt, ivory, slaves, flintlock guns, powder, cloth, and beads. Apart from the evidence of any other writer, that of Arnot alone would suffice to prove the importance of cultural contacts of the Ovimbundu through caravan trade.

One would be mistaken in supposing that the Bihéans made occasional contacts only. For three centuries there has been this to-and-fro movement between the Benguela Highlands and central Africa. In Garenganze, about eight hundred miles from the centers of my research, Arnot noted several points that have been recorded in my notes. The word for medicine-man is *ocimbanda* (p. 242).

439 177 The vertebrae of serpents strung together as a girdle are a cure for rheumatism (p. 237). A necklace of pythons' vertebrae was obtained from a chief of Ngalangi who wore the bones to cure that affliction. In Garenganze twins were introduced to the chief at a ceremony conducted by a female *ocimbanda*. The Ovimbundu welcome twins and one of triplets is given to the king.

171 E. Holub (II) mentions important traits of culture among the Marutse, a Rhodesian people who keep cattle. The Marutse have an aptitude for working in iron, horn, wood, bone, and leather. The masked dance at which performers wore tightly fitting jackets of netted fiber, with close-fitting sleeves, gloves, and stockings of the same material, would serve as a description of the costumes worn in the ceremonies observed at Cangamba in eastern Angola. Holub notes the use of the double iron gong at these dances (vol. II, pp. 168–170). The bark receptacle (p. 308) is the one commonly used in eastern Angola, and along the line from Saurimo to Malange.

The Marutse have the poison ordeal in which vomiting is a sign of innocence, the witness being the god Nyambe (p. 322). Gourd decorations of the Marutse and Babunda tribes show a technique comparable with work of this kind done by the Ovimbundu (pp. 305, 335). The practice of cupping is described by Holub (p. 325); so also is the custom of wearing wooden hair-combs (p. 349). These are cultural traits of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu.

In his "Eine Kulturskizze des Marutse-Mambunda Reiches" Holub gives a few additional points which connect the Marutse culture with that of eastern and central Angola. The main instances are the technique in gourds (p. 81); the form and hafting of axes (p. 116); blacksmith's bellows and tongs (p. 129); the musical bow (p. 139); the board with metal keys (p. 138); the small friction drum, identical in pattern with my specimen from Elende (p. 140, fig. 70); a musical instrument consisting of a notched board which is rubbed with a stick (p. 142); tobacco-pipes made from the horns of animals and from gourds (p. 147); cylindrical snuff boxes and sticks for pounding snuff (p. 150, fig. 83); wooden hair-combs (p. 155, fig. 87); and wooden stools (p. 163, fig. 92).

All these articles, which are pictured by Holub as being representative of the work of the Marutse of Rhodesia, have their exact parallels in Field Museum collections from the Ovimbundu.

Perusal of "The New Africa" by Schulz and Hammar was not ethnologically fruitful except for a series of outline drawings

5: Hambly E-5 (1929-30) 1934 FP 13 Mbundu FP13

224 764 hollow chamber. I removed a thin slab of stone which formed an entrance to a tomb of this kind and observed within two skeletons lying supine. On the top of the cairns were skulls of animals killed by the hunter. I noted one instance of the burial of a hunter's dog under a cairn of stones.

825 794 Three birds are protected by a prohibition. Esuvi is a bird which has power to steal the souls of the dead, so making them die a second death. As usual, no direct explanation was given concerning this second death, but an explanation came later, quite fortuitously. For instance, an old man said he was sick because esuvi had stolen the spirit of his grandfather. This statement is logical, since welfare depends on a beneficent interest of dead ancestors, and it is evident that dying a second death prevents a spirit from exercising a benign influence over the living. Other protected birds are one which supplies feathers from which the decorations of kings and medicine-men are made, and one whose night cry is a warning of death in a village.

226 In fishing, a division of labor is recognized: men use a rod and line, while women drag baskets against the stream or use poison in slow, shallow water. The night before poison is to be used for fishing, husband and wife must avoid intercourse, since intimacy of this kind would make the fish stay together at the bottom of the river. A man who has prepared his rod and line, by transfixing a grasshopper and attaching it to a thin piece of bark, [539] sings a song which is of the nature of a spell. He says:

> "O fish come and take your good thing.
> Do not send the little fish to spoil the good thing.
> Better you come and take the good thing with all your strength."

● 439 [443] Up to half a century ago the Ovimbundu were renowned traders whose caravans penetrated deeply into the Congo region and even to the east side of Africa. It is natural, therefore, that some ritual should be connected with such an important enterprise. At the present day caravans may be seen, but these are local, and most of the carriers are found to be taking their maize, beans, and beeswax to traders' stores. I believe women did not accompany the transcontinental caravans of early days, but today women may be seen in line with the other carriers. Their loads are lighter, being on the average thirty pounds as compared with sixty pounds for a man. Children also carry small loads in the caravan.

439 787 [643] Ngonga, my chief informant, said that in former times no caravan leader would set out without having consulted the preserved head of a deceased king. Even at present the corpse of a king is suspended by the neck and twisted until the head is severed. The head is sewn in oxhide and preserved in a box. The ancient caravan custom consisted of taking the box

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containing the head and attaching it to a pole by which it was supported on the shoulders of two bearers. Then followed a series of questions from the village chief (sekulu), and answers were supposed to be given through forward or backward swinging of the pole. A forward swing was affirmative, and a backward swing was negative. I have seen this procedure followed with a coffin supported as described, and the questions related to the cause of death.

The head of a king would be asked, "Do you want an ox for sacrifice? We will give you one." "Do you want a new skin for your head? We will give you one." Such was the ceremony for bringing spiritual aid to what was otherwise a commercial undertaking.

A wooden figure of a female decorated with black feathers was an indispensable part of the equipment of a medicine-man who accompanied a caravan. When in doubt with regard to the path he knelt at the parting of the ways and consulted the figure. Replies came in a falsetto voice attained by plugging his nostrils. Horns containing a mixture of fat, charcoal, and other substances were carried so that they might be planted near a camping ground to drive away thieves and leopards. These horns are still used and are obtainable.

At the present day a belated Ocimbundu, who fears the sun may set before he reaches the next village, will take some earth from an ant hill. This earth he places in the fork of a tree saying, "O sun wait for me a little while."

Examination of the culture of the Ovimbundu, combined with observations on the Umbundu language and somatic traits, indicate that the Ovimbundu are a part of the Bantu peoples of southwest Africa. They have, however, taken advantage of the open Benguela highlands to develop their system of agriculture far beyond that which is usually carried on by Negroes in forest clearings.

In agricultural work a clear division of labor is observed. Men clear timber and burn the bush, after which hoe cultivation is in the hands of women, though men assist with the harvest. Unmarried girls help in the fields and each has a piece of ground whose products are the cultivator's personal property. This gives unmarried girls a measure of economic independence. Usually a girl spends the proceeds of her work in buying trinkets and palm-oil for personal decoration. Under their system of polygyny each wife has her own field, utensils, and a separate hut with its fire and cooking arrangements. The husband visits each hut for four consecutive nights, though in some districts there is a seven night cycle. Men always take evening meals in the mens' council house (onjango) in the center (to notice the tombs of hunters, which consist of cairns of stones enclosing a)[1]

[1] [Printer's error: This sentence refers to p. 159. -- Analyst]

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173 The Hungarian explorer L. Magyar collected in the

middle of the nineteenth century, in the eastern Umbundu kingdom of Bie, an historical legend which linked Bie origins to the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo.[18] Childs has suggested[19] that this legend was in fact not of Umbundu origin since later investigators from Serpa Pinto[20] (1878) to Childs himself (1938) have found that Bie traditions emphasized the local origins of the dynasty. This may of course be a case of the African tendency to manipulate historical narratives to accord with social relationships. It may be suggested that the Lunda traditions, which the core of the Jaga hordes carried with them, became diluted by the recruitment from the conquered peoples, and that the link between the Umbundu royal houses and the Northern Lunda were forgotten because the kings of the Ovimbundu felt no need, unlike the weak Luena and Ndembu chiefs,[21] to prop up their position by stressing their links with the mighty Mwata Yamvo.

175 177 By the end of the eighteenth century the Umbundu kingdoms that were to survive until the end of Umbundu independence were already well established.[22] In 1769 the first Portuguese fort in the Benguela Highland, that at Caconda, was established, and a few years later a king of Bie was to owe his throne to Portuguese intervention.[23] Trade in slaves had begun with the Jagas; but other items such as beeswax and ivory were bought by the bare-footed Kimbundu traders who came from the Portuguese settlements on the Cuanza (founded between 1582 and 1671); and by 1782 there existed small colonies of Portuguese traders in Bie and Caconda.[24]

175 177 439

Portuguese political influence was weak, and the kings con-

[18] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Sud-Afrika*, Pest and Leipzig, 1859, pp. 266–269.

[19] Childs, p. 173.

[20] A. Serpa Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, London, 1881. Vol. I, pp. 156–60.

[21] For Luena and Ndembu chiefs, see C. M. N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization' (*Africa*, January 1957), and V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*, Manchester, 1957. For African attitudes to the recording of the past see J. A. Barnes, 'History in a Changing Society'. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 1951, No. 11, Ian Cunnison, *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 21, and L. Bohannan, 'A Genealogical Charter', *Africa*, October 1952. Mr. White informs me that the Luena regard the Bie kingdom as being of Northern Lunda origin.

[22] Childs, pp. 167–8.

[23] Ibid., pp. 174, 195.

[24] Ibid., p. 198.

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tinued to engage in warfare. However, trade became increasingly important as the Ovimbundu realized the advantage of their position in between the coastal towns of Benguela and Catumbela, and the tribes of the interior. By the middle of the nineteenth century Ovimbundu were travelling throughout the area bounded by the Congo River, the Great Lakes and the Kalahari, and even transcontinental journeys were made. The Ovimbundu carried with them cloths, guns, and rum which they exchanged for ivory, slaves, and wax, to which must be added corn and palm-oil, these latter, however, obtained not from the far interior but from inside or near Umbundu land. The safety of the Umbundu caravans was preserved by the negotiation of treaties with the local rulers, and by agreements (not always satisfactorily kept) between the different Umbundu kingdoms.[25]

From about 1874 rubber became important in Umbundu trade, and it is in the period from then until 1911,[26] when the caravan trade collapsed, that the Ovimbundu knew a prosperity which they have hardly recovered today.[27] It is in this period too that there occurred both the loss of Umbundu independence and the establishment of the missions. In 1890 Ndunduma, the king of Bie, was defeated and deposed, and in 1896 Numa, the king of Bailundo attacked, disastrously, the fort which his predecessors had allowed to be established near the capital. In 1902–3 a widespread revolt, known as the Bailundo war, broke out against the Portuguese, the traders being killed, and the forts besieged. The reasons for this revolt, whose leader Mutu-ya-Kevela was a minister of the Bailundo court, seem to have been injustices on the part of the white population, and possibly a fall in rubber prices. After 1903 the remaining parts of Umbundu country were brought under effective European rule,

[25] Magyar, pp. 292–9; Childs, pp. 203–5.

[26] Childs following A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910, pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–5, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–85) divides the rubber trade into three periods: the rise of the trade 1874–86, the boom 1886–1900, and the decline 1900–11.

[27] I have heard it said by old men who had taken part in the caravan journeys, and by a local mulatto trader that the Ovimbundu of that period had more clothes than they have now. For Angolan economics after 1911 see Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, *Imperio Ultramarino Portuguès*, Vol. III, pp. 124–39, Lisbon, 1936, and Clement Egerton, *Angola in Perspective*, London, 1957, pp. 106–13.

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[1874-1911]

THE OVIMBUNDU UNDER TWO SOVEREIGNTIES

178 The great distinguishing mark of the Ovimbundu was their participation in the caravan trade. Some of the neighbouring people also engaged in trading journeys (e.g. the Chokwe) but in central Angola the dominant traders were the Ovimbundu by reason of their control of the routes to Benguela and Catumbela, a control which as Livingstone's narrative shows they tried for a while to turn into a monopoly.[43] With this must be linked 177 the greater readiness of the Ovimbundu to adopt European ways, marked by the general adoption of cloths for wear by at latest the mid-nineteenth century.[44]

3. *Economics and Social Structure*

101 This section will describe the economic life and social structure which marked the period of the rubber trade (1874–1911). 436 A genuine currency existed in the form of cloth, and fortunes 439 could be made in it. Serpa Pinto tells us of one Otjimbundu who made £3,500 by trading in the interior and that he had met many men who 'turned over capital of a thousand to twelve hundred pounds sterling',[45] presumably in trade goods since Portuguese currency did not circulate among the Ovim- 361 bundu. At the capitals of the kingdoms genuine towns grew up. Magyar in the middle of the nineteenth century estimated that [162] 5,000 people lived at Bailundo[46] and the British explorer Cameron who had crossed Africa from Zanzibar says of Ekovongo, the capital of Bie, 'the town of Kagnombe, the largest I came across during my whole journey, being more than three miles in circumference. On arrival I was met by the 644 Kagnombe's secretary, chamberlain, and captain of the guard who wore red waistcoats as a sign of their dignity. The secretary was more ornamental than useful, being unable to write, but a subordinate, a black man and native of Dondo, was better educated and conducted the trade of Kagnombe with the coast'.[47]

[43] Ibid., p. 205.
[44] Ibid., p. 206, referring to Magyar as evidence.
[45] Serpa Pinto, pp. 161–2.
[46] Magyar, p. 391.
[47] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London, 1877. Vol. II, pp. 206–7.

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[1874-1914]

THE OLD SOCIETY

The trade was conducted in caravans composed of up to several thousand people,[48] under the leadership of *entrepeneurs* called *olofumbelo* (of which the singular is *ofumbelo*). Of such were the individuals whom Serpa Pinto describes as earning wealth equivalent to a thousand pounds or more. Their role was to get together the caravans, to negotiate with the local political authorities, and to provide ritual leadership. The exact relationship between the *ofumbelo* and the ordinary members of the caravan is difficult to see. European travellers found that porters were content with low wages since they had opportunities for private trade, but apparently the caravan organizers had better opportunities for getting rich than had ordinary Ovimbundu. My informants stated that a man organized a caravan to gain wealth. A man who was in a position of prosperity would be known as an *ohwase* (rich man), would stay at home and be expected to assist his relatives.[49]

Different ages and both sexes participated in the trade. Childs says that boys from the age of nine upwards travelled on the caravans, and this is confirmed by Serpa Pinto.[50] Tucker, and my informants however, give the age when caravan travel began as being fifteen or over.[51] Unmarried girls travelled too, but simply acted as helpers to some male relative. The caravan organizers (*olofumbelo*) were old men, I was told, and travelled in the rear while in front of the caravan marched a young man (called the *kesongo*) who carried a flag.[52]

Dr. Childs states that between 1874 and 1886 rubber was gathered from the forests of the interior and took eight months (four months each way presumably) for the Ovimbundu to obtain. From 1886, however, 'red rubber' was obtained from the sandy lands beyond the Cuanza, a journey which only took three months altogether. Hence, Childs states, the trading

[48] A Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella*, in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa* 1910 (p. 151) states that caravans of several thousand were used in the 1870s but that by the time of writing (1908–9, nearly the end of the trade) people came in small parties. My informants who would remember this period spoke of the large size of the caravans.

[49] My informants.

[50] Serpa Pinto, p. 164.

[51] J. T. Tucker in *Africa* (Notes and News), April 1956.

[52] Informants.

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[1874-1911]

journeys diminished in distance as they increased in profitability.[53]

My informants, however, gave a somewhat different picture. Long trading journeys were still being undertaken in the last decade of the trade (1901–11). Some men whom I met had travelled to the kingdom of the Mwata Yamvo and beyond to Luba country; one man had made a journey into what is now the Congo Republic which took a year to go and a year to return; another had visited Barotseland. It should be said that these seem to have been unusually long journeys; journeys totalling six to eight months were common.[54]

The significance of the trade in social life is reflected in the mystical explanations of success in business found in Umbundu religion. Prosperity might be explained either by the favour of spirits such as Kandundu and Otjipuku, who received at their shrines libations of wine, or by malevolent sorcery involving the sacrifice of relatives in exchange for wealth.[55] The existence of these two explanations probably reflects the existence of some rich men who satisfied the expectations of their relatives and others who did not.

Apart from the rubber trade, the older slave trade continued until its vigorous suppression in the period 1910–12, and indeed seems, as regards the Ovimbundu, to have become intensified in the period after 1890. The slaves went to S. Tome and Principe, or to coastal plantations. Up to that time the Ovimbundu had sold few of their own people, with the exception of criminals or people who had become generally unpopular with their kin. The collapse of the old political system played into the hands of adventurers who unscrupulously exploited the Umbundu custom of debt slavery or conducted raids for this purpose.[56]

It was then the 'trade' which was the common factor in the life of all Ovimbundu, and which was so to speak the factor,

[53] Childs, p. 208.

[54] Informants.

[55] Although some old men still have shrines to the luck-giving spirits it is not possible to see how their cult functioned in the social structure then existing. It is, however, notable that success could be interpreted mystically in two ways by benevolent spirits or by sorcery.

[56] Childs, p. 213. I was told that Gumba had been raided from Bailundo.

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rather than any political alliance or opposition, which related the Ovimbundu as a whole to the Portuguese and the other tribes. Informants who remember 'the time of the rubber' talk about it with much more interest and much more detail than about any other aspect of the past, and it is far easier to make an ordered picture out of the narratives of the caravan journeys than to fill in the gaps in the descriptions of the political and kinship systems provided by Childs and Hastings.[57]

Politically the Ovimbundu were divided, as has been said, into several kingdoms. Bailundo, the largest of the kingdoms was divided, according to Childs into about 200 sub-chiefdoms. As it had about half a million inhabitants this would give an average population of about 2,500. While the kingdoms seem to have been more or less stable in number and boundaries from the end of the eighteenth century, the number of sub-chiefdoms seems to have increased. Thus an official Portuguese estimate made in 1799 gives Bailundo as having only 82 sub-chiefdoms, and Galangue, where Childs counted 112 sub-chiefdoms, as having 78. The sub-chiefdom paid tribute to the king, sent men for his armies, and recognized his court as the supreme arbitrator. Some sub-chiefdoms were held by ministers or relatives of the king.[58]

It is, however, not easy on the sparse detail available to decide how much autonomy the sub-chiefdoms really had. Gumba, the area where I worked, was a sub-chiefdom of the Bailundo kingdom, albeit on the north-western frontier, neighbouring Cassongue and Cela, where the people did not call themselves Va-Mbailundu, though their rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Bailundo. Old men told me of raids from Bailundo for slaves, but I cannot say if this was the result of the period of disorder mentioned, or whether sub-chiefdoms on the border of a kingdom gave only nominal submission and received only nominal protection. In the area where I worked,

[57] This is not intended as a personal reflection on Dr. Childs and the late Dr. Hastings, both of whom deserve the highest praise for their work and for their obvious devotion to the Ovimbundu. Hastings devoted far more space to the magico-religious field than to the kinship system. Likewise Childs's description of kinship is much shorter, much less detailed, and much less satisfactory than his account of childhood and adolescence, or the really outstanding historical chapter.

[58] Magyar, pp. 383–92; Childs, pp. 23–24.

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kingdoms of the Ovimbundu, though more frequently perhaps it was made against the non-Umbundu peoples.[89]

The question of the influence of the trade provides interesting opportunities for comparison. The Ovimbundu were the southernmost of the peoples who in the nineteenth century participated in the trade between the Europeans of the West African coast and the peoples of the interior.[90] In some ways the Ovimbundu seem to have been less influenced by it than were some of the peoples further north. The Ovimbundu did not develop genuine patterns of urban life as in Dahomey or Benin.[91]

Three explanations can be offered for the relative failure of associational groups and urban society to develop. Umbundu crafts were much inferior to those found along the coast of the Gulf of Guinea; there was no indigenous weaving industry, for instance, and the goods which the caravans carried to the interior were all of European or American origin, cloths, guns, and rum.[92] For these goods the Ovimbundu were dependent on the Portuguese settled at the coast or in the Highland and this meant that the Ovimbundu were far from economic autonomy. Again the trade had a relatively short time span—the real boom period lasted only from 1886 to 1900, and earlier on in the 1840's when the beeswax, ivory, and slave trade was flourishing, the Ovimbundu had plenty of time for warfare.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to think that trade had only a marginal influence on Umbundu society. It has been suggested that the form of the double-descent system owes its origin to the necessity to isolate economic relations from other social fields. In the sphere of ritual, there are some remarkable copies of European practices—for instance the holding of a feast in honour of the ancestors at Christmas-time.[93] Many ritual concepts are related to the explanation of business

[89] For information on Umbundu warfare see Magyar, pp. 277–80 and Serpa Pinto, pp. 177–9.

[90] See Balandier, *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1955, for a discussion of social change in other areas which had experienced a trade of a similar sort.

[91] For Dahomey see M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, New York, 1938. For Benin see R. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa), London, 1957.

[92] Childs, p. 206.

[93] Informants.

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that the Government is benevolent even if its agents are not, and men say that they like the Europeans. There are other opposed currents of feeling, though; thus a cook to a European family said to me, 'The Portuguese do not wish us to learn' and a villager declared, 'The Portuguese say to the English that the Ovimbundu have tails.'[39] The great mass of the Ovimbundu seemed to be without political consciousness, or desire for independence; there is little nostalgia for the days of the caravans, and it is widely felt that the present is better than the past, since there is more contact with Europeans.

Traders in the neighbourhood were relatively few, compared to other parts of Umbundu country. At Chicunda there were three trading stores and people who did not like them went across the river to Cassongue. Traders try to prevent natives who live in their neighbourhood from dealing at other stores where they can get better prices, but this is not always effective. Some Ovimbundu realize that variations of price levels are related to such factors as proximity to the railway line. The traders are criticized for paying their servants low wages as compared with those paid in the coastal cities. Although there is a great deal of mutual suspicion between the traders and the Ovimbundu which is expressed in the arguing and haggling that takes place in the stores, there is none of the fear so noticeable in the people's attitudes to the *chefes*. Many traders have a smattering of Umbundu, and have a certain affection for the local people. Economically, the role of the traders is to receive the maize and other products grown locally for transport to the railway line, and to distribute trade goods to the villages. Their presence is also important in preventing the rise of any other system of trading by markets or pedlars.

The principal goods sold are blankets, cloths, and clothing of all sorts, including fancy items such as sun-glasses. There are also a good many bottles of wine, and also oil-lamps and kerosene tins, and electric torches. For literates or would-be literates, there are pens, pencils, writing-papers and slates. Such goods as bicycles, gramophones, and sewing-machines are generally

[39] i.e. The Portuguese say the Ovimbundu are savages and keep them from contact with other Europeans. The Bailundo area had not (up to September 1961) been affected by the revolt. However, a marked change in this attitude of submissiveness seems to have taken place.

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bought in the towns, and men returning from South Africa are said to bring all sorts of goods including typewriters. The traders do not lend money though they sometimes give credit. The living standards of the traders are often low, some being unable to buy a truck, and having therefore to come to terms with someone who has one. I have even heard of traders having to eat the staple Umbundu mush (*pirão* in Portuguese).

While the traders play an extremely important role in the local economy they do not establish any permanent face-to-face relationship with the natives outside their household and store, because they are not interested in them and have no reason to be. This does not apply in the same way to African *assimilados*,[1] actual or self-styled, of whom there were a few in the neighbourhood, who lived more or less in Portuguese style. Of these one in particular, Justino, made a hobby of settling disputes, and will therefore re-appear later on. Their main source of revenue was coffee-growing, and they would occasionally have local labour working for them. As they tend to identify themselves with the 'civilized' population, their attitude to the natives is not unlike that of the traders, but culturally and linguistically they are linked to the Ovimbundu villagers, and if of local origin will have kinship links too.

This group is significant because it is in the total social structure of Angola a link between the 'civilized' and 'non-civilized' communities. Both the *assimilados* and those pseudo-*assimilados* who have persuaded the natives that they are *assimilados*, identify themselves with the whites but are also linked much more closely with the natives than any other group. As the division into 'civilized' and 'non-civilized' is legally sanctioned on the grounds of culture not race, a group which participates to some degree in the cultures of both sections must be of great significance in the study of the means by which the whole society is integrated. In the neighbourhood where I worked this group of Europeanized Africans were few in numbers,[80] both absolutely and in relation to other parts of Angola.

[80] I only know of one genuine *assimilado* in the neighbourhood though there were others who claimed to be such. Galvão and Selvagem (p. 408) remark of the Cazengo concelho of northern Angola, 'The great number of civilized negroes, some planters incorporated in the European economic system, hastened the disintegration and confusion of the tribal institutions.'

[1] [assimilados are Africans possessing Portuguese citizenship -- Analyst]

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439 Axe and hoe blades, blankets, cloths, clothing, cutlery,

drinking-mugs, lanterns, metal plates, pens, pencils, wine, and writing slates are bought from the traders. Axe and hoe handles, 438 buckets, bedsteads, beer, bows and arrows, chairs, fish-traps, mats, mush sticks, pottery, pounding-blocks, stools, tables, and small metal objects such as knives are made by Ovimbundu and may be sold locally. To this local trade may be added the selling of pieces of meat by anyone who has killed a pig, or gone hunting and killed a duiker. Very occasionally somebody who has bought cloths in a town or has some hand-made object superior to the local average may tour villages selling his goods as a pedlar.

439 The only trade which at all recalls the days of the caravan trade is the cattle trade with the Kwanyama Ambo. As in the rubber trade the Ovimbundu make use of their intermediary geographical position. They obtain from Luanda shells called *olomande* (singular *omande*). One of these shells costs 10 escudos [436] (2s. 6d.) at Luanda and ten of them will buy a beast in Kwanyama country. Alternatively 30 rounds of tobacco will buy a beast there. I knew several men who had made, or planned to make, trips of this nature. The analogy with the caravan trade 433 breaks down, however, when the relative importance of the two 1+2 is examined. The caravan trade determined the economic standards of the Ovimbundu, absorbed a great part of the time of every able-bodied man and youth, and influenced every aspect of Umbundu life from the foreign policy of the kings to accusations of sorcery; the cattle-keeping is relatively unimportant economically since the Ovimbundu do not drink [262] milk, and eat meat, even chicken or pork, very irregularly, nor does the occasional sale of cattle to traders altogether balance their uncertain survival away from their indigenous grasses. The real importance of cattle in the economy seems to be as a [254] form of capital investment for spare savings, an investment which can be liquidated either by sacrifice on ceremonial occasions or back into money by sale. Socially, it may be thought of as marking the survival of the Umbundu capacity and enthusiasm for trading in an age when the economic situation has closed the old routes. Indeed, perhaps the subconscious motive for the Ovimbundu who trade is to show that they can act outside of that economic framework of cultivation